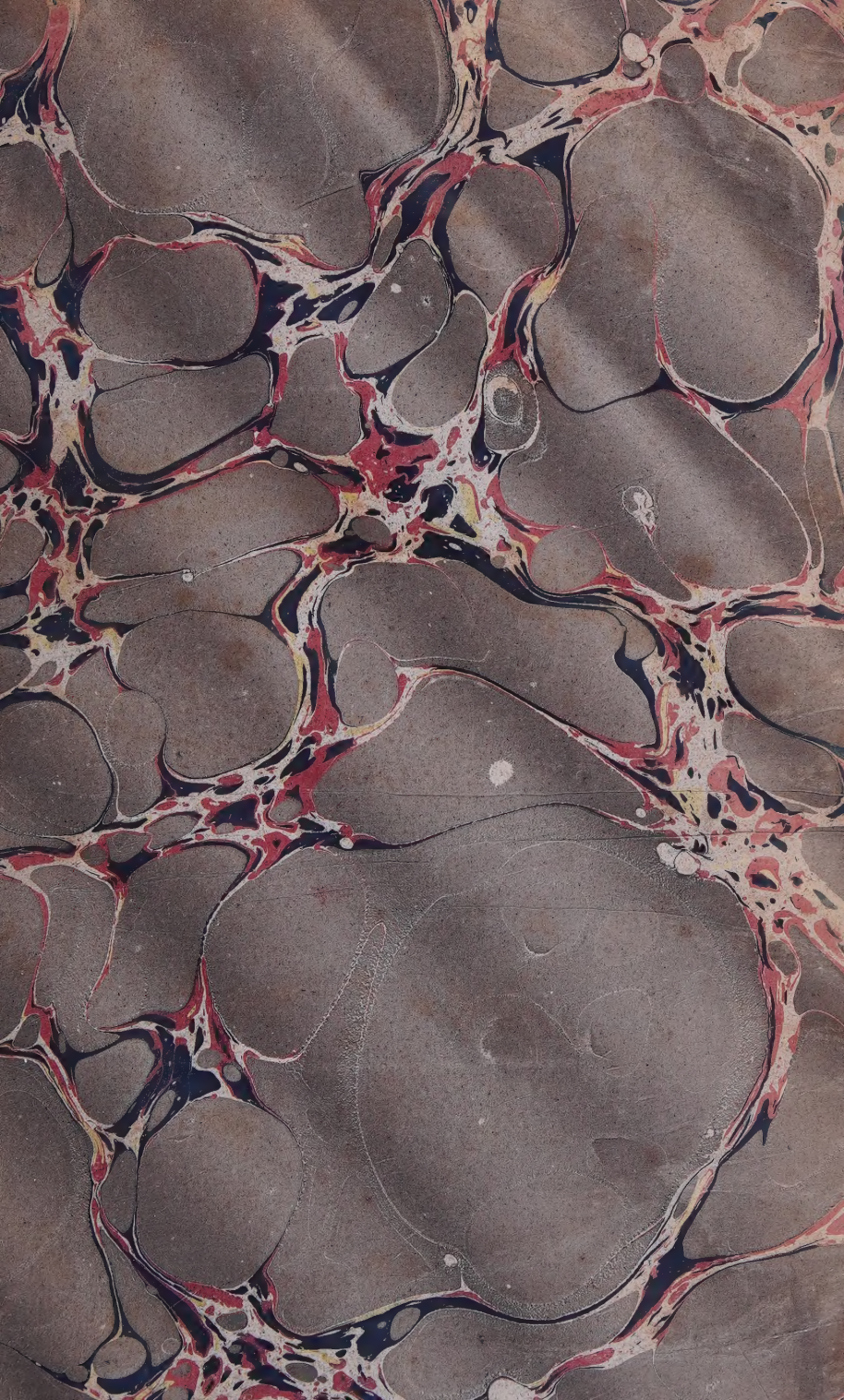




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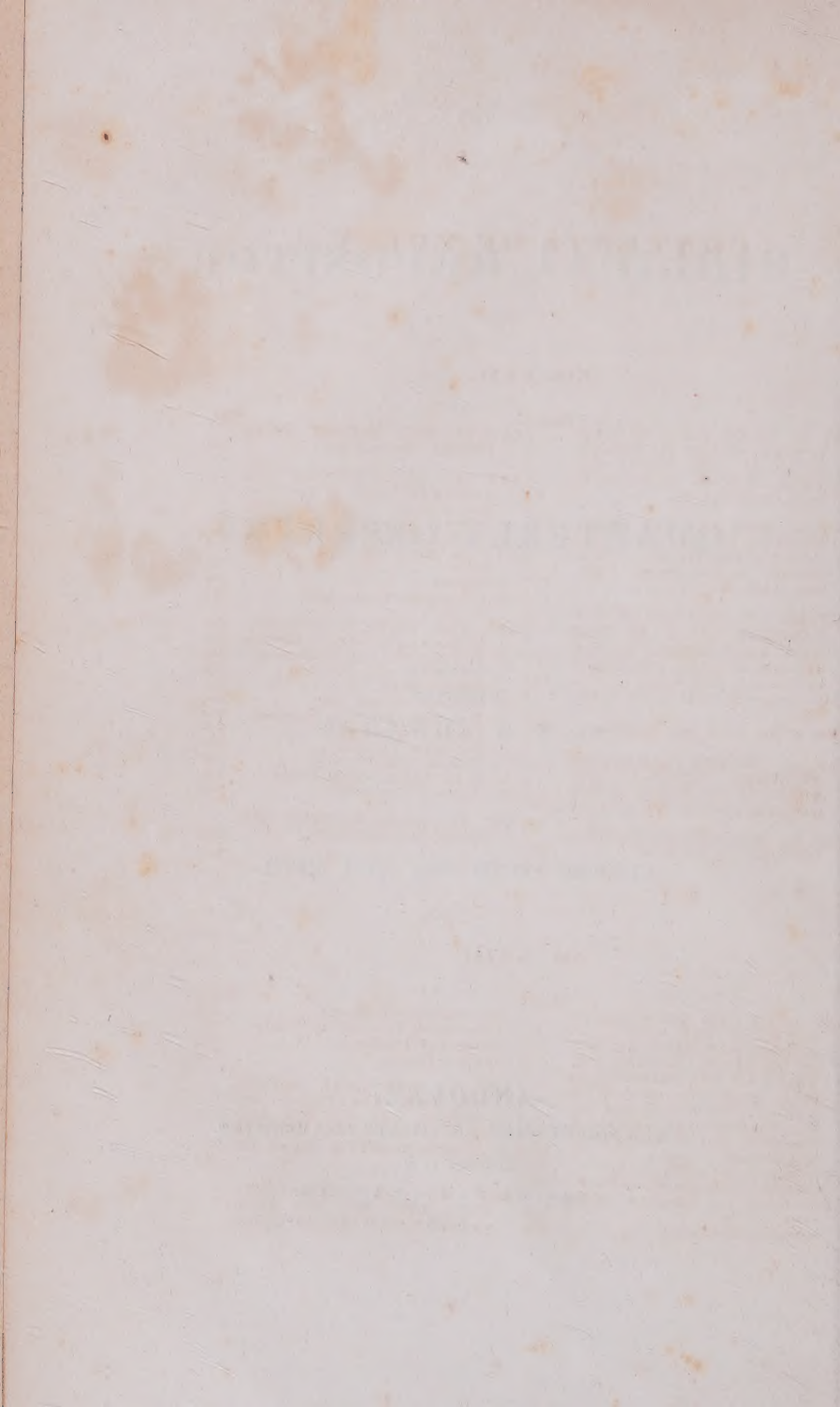
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THE
BIBLICAL REPOSITORY
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No. XVII.

JANUARY, 1835.

ARTICLE I.

WHAT FORM OF LAW IS BEST SUITED TO THE INDIVIDUAL
AND SOCIAL NATURE OF MAN?

It seems to be a principle of our nature, that a person whom we love, or hate, for any one quality, should be loved or hated by us, not only in regard to that particular quality, but in respect to all that is essentially or accidentally related to him. Thus, that love for a fellow-being, which probably sprang from a single attribute in him, spreads itself over the whole character; his turn of thought, of feeling, of expression, nay, his person, features, gestures—even the commonest things which belong to him, and are for his daily use, soon become objects of our attachment.—Reverse this, and put hate,—and, because of some hastily spoken word, we come to detest a man, and all that is his; we begin to dislike his face, however well in itself; his grace is awkwardness to us; we hate him; we hate his very dog.

This springs from the activity of the mind, and its quickly associating processes. Nature, it is said, abhors a vacuum; and it may be as truly said, that the mind abhors a unit. And for the very reason that it does so, it delights in unity; and if in unity, then, in association. Destroy association and its result, Unity; separate any one part from the whole—the unit from the unity—and it becomes a dead thing; its generating principle

ceases, and the mind that fastens itself upon it gradually loses its life and the power of thought.

I have alluded to this principle of unity and association, because it is proposed to speak of two forms of Constitution, or Law ; in the first place, of that which most resembles the constitution of the country from which we sprang, and next, of that form to which our own Constitution most nearly approaches. A further reason for alluding in the outset to this principle, is its being recognized throughout what is here said. If the associating principle spoken of acts upon us in relation to persons, so does it in relation to things, to modes and ceremonies, to forms of private connections, and to those enlarged and public forms of communities, called Governments.

A new people, for instance, without simply considering what form of Government would be best for them, would be likely to adopt that of the country from which they sprang, or the directly contrary to it, as love or hatred of the mother country might sway them. Had the Constitution of England, at the time of our revolution, been a democracy—had her mandates come from the multitudinous assemblies of the people, and not from the single-voiced throne ; had her troops been the people's, and not the king's ; might not the feeling of resentment at a rabble's insult and wrong have gathered us round a newly founded throne ? Might not the hard, coarse oppression of the throng have refined us into a feeling of revolting against such an exhibition of power ? And might we not have seen a glory around a single head, and decorum and grace and fair proportions in rank above rank ? Might not a popular form have been offensive to our taste, and the thought of a ruling crowd have stirred in us a fastidious scorn and pride ?

I am aware that the first answer to questions such as these, is likely to be only an incredulous, perhaps, a contemptuous smile. But after we have thought upon them a little, we may begin to hesitate, and next, to allow that there may be some meaning in what is asked. Nor do I at all doubt, that the more we look into our natures, the more strength we shall allow to the principle upon which these questions rest.

If this be so, it becomes important to us, that in graduating the relative merits of different forms of government, we recollect what was the form of government, in our war with which, we grew into an independent nation ; and that we make full allowance, in forming our judgement, for our feelings of hostility at

the time, and for that associating principle, spoken of, which leads us to involve in one common feeling of hatred, or of love, all that, in any way, bears a relation to the objects of that feeling, whichever it be. If, then, the government to which we were opposed, was a form of the monarchical, we must be upon our guard as to our prejudices against that form, and cautious as to our partialities for its opposite, heightened, as they will naturally be, by these very prejudices. We must consider, too, the influence which mere names may have upon our minds, and how, in time, they move us to anger, or to love, while we know very little of the deeper meaning of those things to which the names belong. We must recollect, also, that our war of the revolution was not a conflict about a difference of Constitution, but a war growing out of what we held to be a *violation* of a certain Constitution.

In treating upon Government, or Law, the peculiar character of our times demands of us, as wise and good men, to lay aside all prepossessions, and to look the subject through and through. It is, indeed, becoming a question with thoughtful men, whether human nature is fitted for a form of Government such as ours, and whether the dangers now threatening us, are accidental and transient, or whether they lie deep in the system itself. As much, then, which will be here said may cross many associations and preconceived notions, I must ask to be listened to patiently, not for my own sake alone, but for the reader's too, and above all, for the Truth's sake, while a short time is given to the question,—

What form of Government, or Law, is best suited to the Individual and Social Character of Man?

The term, Law, is here used in its more convenient and comprehensive sense, including within it Constitution and Administration.

“Of Law,” says Hooker, “there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage; the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempt from her power; both angels and men and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.” And Coleridge speaks of “the awful power of Law, acting on natures prefigured to its influences.”

The answer to the question stated will, in no small measure, depend upon the way in which we are in the habit of considering *man*—whether we look at him as a higher sort of animal, or whether we are wont to think of him in his inner and more spiritual nature—whether we are accustomed to regard him in his mere earthly, outward wants, comforts, connexions—his clothing, his food, his making and spending of money, in his providing for the bodily wants and worldly happiness of his family—or whether, allowing their due place to these, we think of him as a being, who, having begun to live, must live forever—as a soul to which this body, with its many organs, is but an instrument for the use of a day—as a being with capacities which shall forever go on enlarging, and for which infinitude alone can make room—as one with longings which earth cannot satisfy, and yet one, who in the proportion that these longings possess him, finds more and more, even here, for the soul's joy—a being compounded of ethereal faith and hope, of imagination and sentiment, of sentiment which refines joy, and touches sorrow with a softening hue, a being who looks upon the earth as indeed, dust, and its toils as only the wasting of strength, further than as they minister to these inward sensations and powers.

If we allow Law to have any influence over the character of man, it is evident that as we are habituated to look at him in the one or the other of these lights, so will be our views of Law. For we must first understand what it is which is to be operated upon, before we can determine upon the instrument to be used.

Will any one say, that granting this interior view of man to be the true view, it is a matter with which Law has little, or nothing, to do?—That Law takes cognizance of only the outward, civil conduct, not concerning itself with motives and feelings within? True, it must not call the thoughts into judgement; but there is a necessity upon it, grounded in the nature of things, to give a hue to those thoughts. For there is nothing without us which fails of reaching that which lies within: through the countless varieties and differences of the material and moral world, all stand related to all—through the universe of God, there is not one lonely being or thing. What falser view of Law, then, can there be, than that which looks upon it as a larger machine regulating merely out-of-door intercourse, and by its complicated motions and parts, only supplying conveniences, and furnishing levers and springs to help on the more

general purposes of man? Yet the greater part of men habitually speak of Law, as a well or illworking machine. Nor do they think of it as acting upon the nicer moral and intellectual characteristics of man.

It is wonderful to observe the effect of this sensuous, external way of looking at things, and to see how, in the degree that we set the external above the internal, we limit the external itself, and take from it half its power: by it death enters the material universe, and touches society too, in all its forms.

And why is it thus?—Because the material and external has no independent life. Its life proceeds from and returns into the spiritual and the internal; and just in the proportion that the latter is held by us as the dearer and superior power, in the same degree the former, as dependent upon it, increases with it:—as imagination, sentiment, and love reign in us, so does the outward become more and more alive, from imparted life, and so does it return, to act, by multiplied and delightful influences, upon every thought and emotion of the soul; and there is no attribute of the inward man with which it is not brought into sympathy.

Would it not be strange then, if Law, made for moral and intellectual beings, should not have an effect upon their moral and intellectual condition? True! But, it is again objected, it is only on these beings in their *civil* characters.

And have men double sets of faculties and affections—individual or private, and public or civil ones?—the state or action of the one set having no influence upon the other? Or, I fear we must go still further, and ask, whether man has two souls—two consciousnesses—in short, whether he is a kind of double being? If this be not so, it must be upon the same faculties and affections which Law acts, that religion, family, books, occupations, the beauty, the grandeur, the variety of earth, sea, and sky act. And do any of these come and go, and leave no hue, no pressure upon the soul? And must not Law, then, give form and pressure to every part of man? Why,—not the thin shadow, from the quick cloud, gliding over the grain, leaves it what it was!

How superficial, then, have been our general views of Law! And what a gross, unmanageable substance have we held that to be, which touches and presses upon every part of the ductile spirit of man. I do not pretend to have read many writers professedly on Law; but of those which I have read, I hardly know whom, among them, to term a philosopher, save Edmund

Burke. He traced the reachings of Law into man's finer nature, and had that nicer sensibility, wherewith to feel the delicate, electric *aura*, which this individual nature gives back, and diffuses through every fibre of the great, general frame.

If there be this principle of unity binding together the intellectual capacities, the moral sensibilities and perceptions, and those multifarious qualities, which go to make up what we call character; and if every the least outward circumstance or condition, has an influence upon some one of these, and, through their sympathetic connexion with each other, upon all, and, so, upon their unity, or that which constitutes character; it follows, upon every principle of harmony in God's universe, that there should be no jarring nor discordant influences within or without, and that the nearer man draws to his first, unfallen state, the more will be developed the resemblances and relations of things to each other, and the more plainly order will be traced out through all varieties, and a tending of the upper and lower, the inward and outward world to one great end; and the more this world will be found to contain, as it were, within itself, heaven, and a moment of time to involve eternity—the greater, to speak with seeming paradox, to be contained in the less.

If the influences of this world reach into eternity, in order to fit man truly for either, they must fit him for both, and that, not partially, if they could, but in his whole mind and heart. But if there needs must be this family relation and likeness, which shall be taken for the original?—the form of this world, or of the other? and by which, so far as he has the shaping of circumstances, shall man mould his condition?

I have full faith in the doctrine, that He who made man, body and spirit, framed the material world for a spiritual as well as a physical use—that He formed man a microcosm, and would teach him to know himself, not only by the revealed Word and by the influences of his Spirit, but by his providences, by the modes in which He has formed the animate and inanimate worlds, and by the ways in which He carries these forward to fulfil his great ends. Nor must this be barren knowledge—its purpose is to bring man into the likeness of this pattern, and thus into conformity and union with the general ordering of God, and with God himself.

How prone are we to cut these relations right athwart—to consider, for instance, our religious character one thing, and our political character another:—one set of ties to God, another to

man. Religion teaches humility, obedience ; not so Politics :—“ We are *all* sovereigns !” cries the christian speaker, and the religious assembly clap their hands ! Was it the Rights of man, or the pride of man, that gave voice to the thought, and returned the applause ? This principle of severance will never do ! The nerves we thus cut must grow together again, or just action will cease, and the man die. We must not think of going to God to learn humility and obedience, only to go back to Law again, to throw it off. There are no such contraries in God’s plans ; and the rule of this world must be after the pattern of the heavenly (imperfect it will be, but yet) teaching, in the main, the same lessons, and acting upon the same attributes of man.

This great principle of Obedience, and the spirit of Humility, with which to obey, need be taught us in every thing ; and Law should be so formed, while allowing us due freedom, as to be our schoolmaster in this lesson. It cannot be consistent, that what becomes so slowly the habitual state of the mind towards its Creator, should not be intended by Him, to find help in the forms of Law on earth—that, on the contrary, Law should be at war with this principle, and should nourish pride ; thus keeping man under opposing influences, and hindering his progress in that way which is to make him a meet subject for the order and sovereignty of heaven. Were it natural to man to live under an abiding sense of humility, and of obedience to his Maker, were it the first and only impulse of the heart, in honour to prefer one another, we might not stand in so extreme need that Law should meet us every where, with the air of supreme authority, pressing upon our senses, and rising up before our minds.

If we look at Law, in this way, as intended to fall in with the general plan of God, as a part faying in with the other parts of a great whole—as a something made necessary to the universal ordering of our condition and character, and having both a necessitated beginning and continuance in our very nature, and acting upon it every where,—and not as a mere arbitrary Institution set up by man himself, out of convenience and choice, to be taken down, remodelled, and put up again, at his good pleasure ; then will it have to us an origin like that from which we ourselves sprang, and a bearing as lasting as our own existence ; then will it become sacred in our eyes—a somewhat set over us—our rule, our head. Authority will be seen written over its portal ; and we shall take our shoes from off our feet as we en-

ter in through its everlasting doors. Those, also, who wait at its altars will, as its ministers, be held in respect, and, as announcers of its decrees, be listened to: they will, so to speak, stand out before the people, as Law in visible presence.

With this character of Permanency and Majesty before our eyes, submission to Law, and to those who represent it, will not beget servility, but, rather, that "proud humility" of which Burke speaks; for submission is servility or right respect, as that to which we yield it is mean or venerable. And if we venerate the permanent and the majestic, something of the spirit of these will be reflected upon our own souls.

To produce this sense of authority, permanency and majesty—to give us a feeling of something which, though meant for us, is above us, it must not be a mere abstract principle, having form to us only as we ourselves give it form by administering it ourselves, or, at our own will, setting up, from time to time, those who shall administer it for us: but it must have self-life; and in some parts of it, must be seen those who shall seem to have come out from its invisible self: it must have, as it were, a creating power, producing offspring from itself, to take care that it be respected and obeyed—men who shall be impersonations of Law, having their birth and power, not from us, but from Law—men who, though dying individually, shall, as Orders, through an ordained succession, possess life as permanent as Law itself. These hereditary Orders, call them by what name we will, present something definite to the mind, and help us to realize our Idea of Law; while that Power, which we call Law, unseen by us in itself, yet acting upon our spirits, throws around these orders of men a mysterious authority, which our natures must forever witness to, talk of it as we may, and even hate it as we may. That the mind does recognize such an influence, is shown in the involuntary respect felt for an individual, when standing in this relation to Law, and the diminishing of this respect, when considered apart from this relation, and regarded only in his character of a fellow-man. Let any one be honest with himself, and he will acknowledge this difference. He may call it the remnant of an old superstition, which the mind has not yet quite shaken off. France called it so, and overturned her throne, and drove her nobles from the land. But human nature soon felt the want of something, she knew not what. She tried to smooth down the surface of society to a level, but there were elements beneath, more restless than the centre fires, perpetually

heaving it up into mountains and hills, and the earth tossed like the sea. Man, in his pride, had been trying after equality, which should leave nothing higher than himself; he would fain form his own Law, and himself appoint those who should administer it for him. Poor, finite, dependent creature! That which should have governed him, was of his own making, and might at any moment be by him unmade; and, therefore, he could not reverence it. Conscious of his insignificance, yet with nothing visible around him greater than himself—nothing to look up to, and looking up to, from it to gather strength, no wonder that the unquieted craving of his soul made him throw himself headlong, and set the oppressor's foot upon his neck:—he thought to destroy the principle of obedience in his soul, and he became a slave—he rose up against that eternal Law which God had given to regulate his being, and which, I doubt not, is now visibly carried out through the ranks of heaven, and will ever be a living Law—a Law without which on earth, man, who is linked in with eternity, can never be well with himself, nor with his fellow-men. Instead, therefore, of vainly striving against a principle inherent in our natures and in the order of things—instead of blinding our minds by a mere name—calling it superstition—it would be better to look calmly into ourselves a little, and to see, whether in these outward, distinctive forms and orders, there be not a kindly adaptation to our inward needs—whether were we in our true state, we should not feel that there was something in us congenial with them—something to elevate thought, and warm and make quick the affections. Law!—What is it but an infinite abstraction, till it bodies itself forth in orders of men? Then it is as if the infinite, after which the mind had vainly stretched itself, gathered itself in, presenting some point at which we might come in contact with it—something where we might begin—something to which we might return.—We have been looking over the day-sky; and all throughout its clear expanse, the eye has found no resting-place. Presently from out it, a feathery little cloud puts forth; it enlarges, unrolling itself, fold over fold; and there it lies, steady as the land, a mighty pile of dazzling splendour! Now, the eye is fixed, the soul filled, and our thoughts go up to it, like incense, to mingle with its glory. Yet a little before, this cloud had been an infinitely rare, invisible vapour: our eyes saw nothing, our souls felt nothing. So Law, pervading as it does, the universe of God, comes not upon us in its power, till it

takes hold upon our senses, and sits robed on its seat in human form. But suppose that, by some chemical process, we ourselves had gathered that cloud together, and set it in the sky, would there have awaked in us an humble adoration, as we gazed? As its piled heights flashed down splendour upon us, would not the spirit of self-complacency, rather, have moved in us? Then, it had been *our* cloud!—Alas! alas! there has been more than one mad Dennis, who has cried, *That's my thunder!*—This land of liberty, this land of 'all sovereigns,' is filled with the cry!—'Nothing but thunder!'

So, where all the representatives of Law are of our own election, they keep not our reverence, and through our want of this, Law itself becomes a mere thing of convenience, a somewhat upon which to make experiments, a caterer to the self-conceit of man, and, thus, Obedience in time dies, and Order, which holds all in place, is broken up. But if we learn to look upon these ministers as creations of the Law, and not as from ourselves,—as servants of the Law, and not servants of the people,—a sanctity is thrown around them as its ministers, and Law itself is the more revered. The effect of this, is a more willing Obedience, a feeling of fitness in gradations, a kindly relationship in Orders, a natural connexion from the head to the foot.

Let this sense of patient and wise subjection to authority, this spirit of right Obedience, once possess a man, and its influence may be easily traced through his internal state, and his character, as it appears in its outward relations. It was Pride that rebelled against God; it is Humility that restores man to Obedience; and as the same spirit that prepares a man for heaven, fits him for his duties and relations here, so humility, shown forth through obedience, brings out all his good affections, and imparts a beauty and sentiment, and a wise calmness to every station and relation of his life.

Gradations in society, formed by Law and made permanent by it, and not, as where all is thrown open to every man, being shifting and chance distinctions, rising and sinking like the waves, impress the mind with the sense of all-pervading, all-arranging, authoritative Law. Its invisible spirit is through Orders, made manifest every where in the connexions of life; each one stands in his place, and there fulfils his duty in obedience to the command of the awful Power; man lives and acts under a wholesome reverence, whose cause and mode of

working upon himself, he may not comprehend, while yet it spiritualizes him, and acts in him for good. The consciousness is thus kept up in him, that he is living under a power which he cannot over-master, or change at will, and that he stands in certain relations not to be broken through for his mere pleasure and ease ; and this makes him better comprehend the finite nature, and the dependence of created man.

There being something of permanency and distinctness in his condition, the mind adapts itself to it, and apprehends its connexions with clearness. Habit begets contentedness ; and contentedness and a ready apprehension of such things as are immediately around him, though they be few and simple, impart a wise discernment to the general character, not easily to be deceived. The affections are also strengthened ; for, where habituated to it, we come to love even that which, in itself considered, is indifferent, and to be unconscious of that which would otherwise give pain. Thus attachments grow around the occupations, the cares, the pleasures, and all the intercourses of daily life ; and where quiet attachments grow, there will sentiment, to refine the character, spring up.

I care not how humble this station may be ; the fact that it is an inherited one endears it to a man. His father, and his father's father lived here before him ; the tools of trade and husbandry which he uses, they had handled ; his homeliest labours are sanctified to him, and refining affections mingle with his daily toil. I am aware that this is an age in which such a condition of mind and heart is little set by,—that sharp, and alert, and pushing spirits, look upon such a meek and contented soul, with something like contempt, and that taking delight in such views of human nature is set down for romance.

Did it never occur to those who speak thus floutingly, that the conditions and characters in life to which the romantic mind turns oftenest, must, from this very fact, have something in them peculiarly connected with and congenial to the finer parts of our nature ? That which we call romance, although it may be an excess in us, stands in close relation to the highest attributes of man. There must be something well in that to which we unconsciously go in our moments of quickened imagination and softened sentiment ; and on the other hand, something radically defective in that from which, in such moments, we as instinctively turn away : There is a beauty and a wisdom in a contented spirit, of which the world knows little now.

These clear distinctions of ranks have the further effect of producing in each man a certain pride in his particular Order ; not a hard, but a softened pride, softened by the filial affections and gentle remembrances, of which I have spoken ; a desire, also, of doing well, not only for the sake of his individual character, but for that, too, of the class to which he belongs.

Further, each one is in the way of having a just understanding of the Rights of his Class ; for the line being distinctly marked, it is plain when he himself oversteps it, or when another treads upon it. Now, selfish as we are, a discernment of our own rights gives us a clearer apprehension of the rights of others. Indeed, our very selfishness puts us in more need of the former, that we may not misjudge the latter ; for where we know our own bounds, conscience may keep us within them ; but where they are not at all, or but indistinctly seen, selfishness will be ever disposing us to push beyond our fair limits.

A sense of Security, while within our Order, disposes us to allow to those below or above us, whatever they are entitled to, according to their several places. Hence the ease, the kind courtesy (where rank is not questioned) with which he of the nobler, treats him of the humbler order, and hence, the respectful return.

My christian friend, you to whom wealth and a cultivated mind have given advantages over that poor, aged, christian woman,—who can do little more than spell out her Bible,—did there not stir in you, while you stood talking with her, a feeling for her humble condition ?—a protecting benevolence ? And as you heard her patient, meek spirit utter its thankfulness for all God's goodness to her, did it not come like gentle and unconscious rebuke from her to you ? Did you not reverence her in her lowly, earthly condition ? Did you not reverence her the more for it ? Did you not go away more humble, more revering, than you would have gone from one ranking with yourself ?—And do you not believe that she took more heart-comfort in pouring out her soul to you, than she could have taken in so doing to one in the same condition of life with herself ? Did not the earthly relation of rank which she bore to you, run on in grateful sympathy with that humility of soul in her which came from and related back to an infinitely high Power ? Were you not both the better for the difference in your conditions ? I know how you will answer me. And I know, also, what reply you would make, should I question you respecting any honourable

and respectable quality in a fellow-creature standing in a like difference of rank to yourself.

We may be assured, that where these distinctions are regarded from custom and old association, and revered as marked out by Law, existing rather as a sentiment in the community, than as an arbitrary rule, (and here old Law is transformed into a sentiment) pride on the one side, and a base feeling on the other, are kept out; for the tone of sentiment which is awakened has in it no touch of these. Thus, strange as it may seem, there is a feeling of respect called out in him of the superior rank, towards the individual respectable in his rank below, as well as in the lower, towards him in the rank above. And this feeling runs along the electric chain which connects the lowest peasant with the solitary monarch upon his throne.—And what a blessing it is to him, thus lifted up over his fellows, with none above him but God and the Spirit of Law, to be held in sympathy with men, by reverence for his kind:

———reverence,

That angel of the world, doth make distinction
Of place 'twixt high and low.

It is easily seen, how this diversity of condition necessarily multiplies and diversifies the relations betwixt men, and how, running through these relations, the various passions and affections are brought into play, and the character, in its varied and more minute and delicate parts, is drawn out, and how opportunity is given for the development of the entire inner man.

Law in this form, is no longer a mere outer political rule, guiding public affairs only, and protecting men against wrong; it blends itself in kindly, congenial working, with the finest feelings in man's individual being, his private relations, his solitary, cherished thoughts, and with his social joys and employments;—it falls into the stream of his religious influences, adding to them, producing congruity, and giving continuity, through this congruity, to the healthful action upon his soul.

That has been called the best form of Law, which leaves man the most to himself, which allows him to forget, save where he openly and purposely violates it, that he is under Law.

If by this were meant, that the less of Law there is in the form of arbitrary, teasing enactments or dark oppression, the better,—I would not deny it. But where its all-pervading spirit reaches man, intermediately, through his callings in life, and

through the established distinctions of society, and thus brings him under its steady, diffusive and multiplied influences, softened by the media through which it passes, becoming emotion to the heart and reverence to the mind, made one with his religion, his household, his toils, there it imparts a unity, steadiness, and spirit of respect to his character, which must be for his common good, in his private relations, and in those more abroad.

Established Orders lead also to a more social disposition among men, and from the very circumstance, too, of the well defined limits by which each is set off.

Here, all within their particular Order, are so far, not theoretically and in name merely, but in very deed, on an equality—an equality, too, not exacted, but unconsciously and cordially granted. Being of the same Order makes them a brotherhood; and the fact that they stand in a nearer connexion with one another than with those of any other class, gives them to feel nearer and freer with one another individually: there is more unbending, more free-heartedness, more open joy of countenance and voice, more ease in act. They have bonds of union in their peculiar employments, ties in their peculiar amusements, and characteristic thoughts, habits, and feelings of intercommunion, as insignia of their caste, which hold them together as one man.

Now, with all the differences of characteristics, which the humbleness or dignity of the several Orders must create, this same principle of intimacy within each order will prevail from the highest to the lowest of them. And thus we find the great community divided up into many small communities, each happy in itself, and the happier because it is *by* itself. For it will forever hold true, however cosmopolitan we may grow, that we shall be happier within our own peculiar circle, than with the world at large.

I have already shown that this principle of Orders, does not cut off kindly interchange between individuals of different orders, modified by the mutual relation in which these orders stand. And I would appeal, for confirmation, to those who remember the earlier state of our domestic relations, when the old scripture terms of, 'master and servant' were in use. I do not fear contradiction when I say, that there was infinitely more of mutual good-will then, than now; more of trust on the one side, and fidelity on the other; more of protection and kind care, and more of gratitude and affectionate respect in return; and,

because each understood well his place, there was actually more of a certain freedom, tempered by gentleness and by deference : from the very fact that the distinction of classes was more marked, the individuals of these two classes, as in other cases, were the closer bound to each other. As a general truth, I verily believe, that with the exception of near blood relationship, and here and there peculiar friendships, the attachment of master and servant was closer and more enduring than that of almost any other connexion in life. The young of this day, under a change of fortune, will hardly live to see the eye of an old faithful servant fill at *their* fall ; nor will any old domestic be longer housed, and warmed by the fireside of his master's child, or be followed by him to his grave : The blessed sun of those good days has gone down, it may be, forever ; and it is very cold !

As the characteristics of each well defined class reached to manners, and even to forms of speech, and to dress, they gave an enlivening diversity to the surface of society ; and a perpetual change was going on under the eye of the observer, as, distinguished by the peculiarity of its class, object after object passed by. This kept the mind alive ; the imagination was set in motion, the fancy roused up to play, and the associating principles of our natures put in action. More than this, that equality before spoken of, which every one felt within his own class, leading as I have before said to freedom in the expression of thought and feeling, the character was *acted out*, and man became a subject of easier observation, and more thorough acquaintance, to his fellow-man : men might be said, in the main, to have known each other better.

But to the profound mind there was a further advantage. Human nature, brought under Law, as exercised upon it through the diversifying influences of multiplied Orders, was developed at one time and among one people, in nearly all possible varieties. All moral and intellectual affinities were applied to it ; and numberless combinations took place, and analyses, more subtle than chemistry could work, were the product. Think of these objects as in themselves living and conscious, and acting and reacting upon each other, in ceaseless and ever increasing combinations and changes, and what a study have you for man—rather, let me say, *of* man. Is there not something here favorable to the bringing out of the various attributes of our being ? And is there not a beauty to the mind, in beholding

these quick and varied transitions—so multiplied as at first to seem mere confusion—all brought about by, and carried through the harmonizing Orders of a great general Law?

I have sometimes thought it would be interesting to examine the changes in the states of society, in respect to their influences upon the poetic mind, and to point out in what way is to be traced to those changes, the difference between such a mind, in our present, and in our earlier literature—how poets of this day, men of as high powers and of as sympathetic natures as their ancestors, have lost that dramatic spirit and form, and above all, that simple and delightful expression of a common humanity, which marked our poets of earlier times. This loss is not from the native poverty of the poetic mind of this age, but from the comparative meagreness of society, and a tendency in it to sameness in its forms and manners, and in apparent, if not real character. There is less vividness of spirit; and the poet, feeling the want of sympathy with what is dearest to him, is driven in upon himself, and under a sense of solitariness, seeks a soothing, yet sad fellowship with the fields and woods and water-courses alone.

This will not be thought by many a very serious objection to any form of Law, nor would it be by me, were my views of poetry the same with theirs. But that which to my mind is poetry, is a manifestation of the dearest faculties and affections of man, in their greatest strength, beauty and variety: there is nothing more serious than poetry. Many content themselves with admiring its more delicate branches, its leaves and blossoms, not heeding that this fair array is put forth through roots which run down deep into the soil of our humanity, and are watered by its nether springs. If this be so, that state of society, which is least congenial with poetry, is most unfavorable to human nature itself.

Nor is Law, acting upon us through established Orders, unfavorable to well-regulated liberty. Indeed, as these Orders serve as checks upon each other, that most reckless form of despotism—sudden and passionate Change—is brought to a stand. There are so many interests to be consulted, so many minor rights to be respected, so many different prejudices to be regarded, that change, to make its way at all, must work along slowly and deviously through these, and as some streams take the tinge of the soil, so, change, thus going forward, takes a hue from the very things it is meant to affect, while, by an al-

most imperceptible alteration, society is preparing for this change, and change conforming itself in a degree to the nature of the society; and thus, strangeness and an unsuitableness of parts are avoided, and an agreeable and healthy homogeneousness is produced. Besides, Orders, serving thus as checks, and giving to each member that familiar knowledge of his own and of an other's rights, before alluded to, it is only when that mad restlessness, which sets at nought all Law, gets possession of men, that such a society is in danger, first from an unconscionable, irresponsible, domineering majority, and thence, from the despotism of One. Further,—were the respect shown to the upper ranks, paid nakedly to the individuals in them, it might well lead to a blind submission, and a servile endurance of oppression; but blended with, as it is, and growing out of the relation in which these individuals stand to a general Law, that reverential sense which Law excites, elevates and does not degrade men, and thus, while it teaches decorum, educates the character, through a mysterious working, to take care that those whose rank stands on Law, do not violate that Law:—Through a sacred feeling for Law, and a sober watchfulness over its sanctity, they guard it well.

I have spoken of some of the beneficial tendencies of Orders established on Law—of *tendencies*; for our fallen natures admit only of *approaches* to what is best.

Let us now glance at the tendency of an opposite principle—thorough Equality.

It has no where been my purpose to go into the question of abstract Right as to one form of Law, or another, but simply to consider what form may be best adapted to the nature of man. As to the question of abstract right, I should hardly undertake its discussion at this time, or, indeed, at any time, after the profound manner in which the principle has been lately treated, and would here only recommend the Essay to every dispassionate and patient thinker.*

If, through the infinitely diversified forms and uses of God's material and animal universe, we see a subordination to some one great purpose; if all be held together by a principle of association by means of which unity is preserved; we can hardly suppose, that in the ordering of his moral and intellectual kingdom, this principle would be neglected; above all, that Law—

* See the American Quarterly Observer, Vol. II. No. I. Jan. 1834.

that mighty Power—would be introduced into the midst of these associations not to act in harmony with them, in their influences upon man, but to be an exception to them, or, at best, not to be necessarily interdependent with them, but leaving us at liberty to start with a sweeping, independent principle, such, for instance, as perfect Liberty and Equality.

This hardly seems to be a philosophical course. It not only takes too much for granted, but also sets out the wrong way. Would it not have been more philosophical to have assumed, that Law should bear relationship to the other relations of man; and from the study of these and of man, have learned something of what the character of Law should be? Is it not by a knowledge of these and of man, of his affections, wants, powers, that we are to determine what form of Law is best adapted to him? Indeed, is there any other question than that of adaptation?—Is there any other Right?—I think not.

In considering the influence of the Law of Orders upon man, I have necessarily, more than once, both directly and indirectly touched upon its opposite—the Law of Equality; nor can I well avoid the appearance, at least, of repetition in speaking as shortly as possible of the latter.

It would be hard to show, that equality in relation to Law, and as a consequence, the right to appoint all the ministers of Law, is not in contradiction to the other relations of man. In his relation to God, the finite and created holds that of dependence and obedience; and these, let it be observed, not resting upon and paid to an abstract principle, but offered to a Being, from whom emanates Law and control—a Being, and not an Abstraction. This is all-important in respect to the nature of man. And every attempt to act, as men affect to do, upon a mere principle of right irrespective of some Superior, as the living Object in whom that right centres, shows how feeble is the power of any principle, which is not in some way impersonated to the mind. Hence, when, through sin, man lost his lively sense of the personality of his Creator, it was soon said of him, that he was without God in the world, and to show how irrepressible is the craving after somewhat to look up to, he fell down before shapes of wood and stone. And God, I doubt not in part, to meet this want in our natures (for He answers in one work many ends) became manifest to us in the flesh, even in Jesus Christ.

Upon the same principle, Law, as has been remarked, in or-

der to be long revered, must be bodied forth in its ministers, and that not in creatures made and unmade at our good pleasure: If not embodied, our notions of it become vague; if presented in forms of our own setting up, Obedience dies. Here then, is a contradiction between our relations to this form of Equality in Law, and our relations to God. Look into some of our other relations. In that of Father and Child, we find power and authority on one side, dependence and obedience on the other. We might go into many other relations, and show how men are compelled to sell their boasted birth-right of Equality, and be their lives long, subject to one fellow-being or another—a necessity not growing out of the particular wants of certain individuals, and bearing alone upon those wants; but pressing upon men every where, to carry forward the uniform and general purposes of life, and to attain great, general ends:—To command and to obey, meet us at every turn.

Nor does this general necessity grow out of arbitrary institutions. Bring mankind to a level. How like would it prove to “the lightning, which doth cease to be, ere one can say, It lightens!” Circumstances under the whole surface forcing up some, and sinking others, in every quarter! Why, you might as well tramp the tossing sea into a plain, as to keep mankind thus. Look through the countless orders in the animal creation,—every where superiour and inferiour, over the broad earth!—The tall tree and the humble flower, the river and the brook, the mountain and the little hill, littleness and greatness, weakness and strength; *inequality* every where pressed in upon our senses. Do not make light of these last instances, nor hold it philosophical to bring in a separation between influences which act upon the finer sentiment and tastes, or any of the attributes of man; for whether they come to him through the senses, or in whatever way, they all centre upon one being, and tend to one end—an harmonious character: association and unity are the life of man.

It is to this principle of harmony, beginning in God and coming down through all the relations of public and private Law, even to that Law of the spiritual and of the material world, which determines the height and shape of the common weed, that I wish to look. Let us ask ourselves what must be the effect of a great leading principle in Law, which jars with this? Why! it brings discord into the soul of every individual being. Whither shall he turn, that by some analogy, he may learn his true relation to Law? He looks up to the Heavens; it is not there!

—Over the earth ; it is not there ! He is left standing, a lonely spirit on his lonely plain : Here are entire freedom and equal rights ! Heaven shows him the inequality between him and it, and bids him obey ; and earth answers to the voice of heaven ; Law, his Law alone has no according voice !

To satisfy ourselves that this principle of Equality is not only an arbitrary assumption—a factitious right, examine the tendency of it upon him who assumes it. As it stands apart from all else in man's condition—an abstract right realized in no other of his relations,—to act upon it, he must become a different being ; all the teachings of his state, from his birth upward, not only fail to instruct him here, but his modes of thinking, feeling, acting, run counter to it. Wherever they come into his reasonings or feelings in respect to Law, (and come in they will perpetually) they confuse and perplex him, and he is thrown into a condition to feel, and think, and act erroneously. Do what he may to reconcile them, his theory, and his experiences with their results upon his character, are ever standing in contradiction to each other. How shall he relieve himself from this internal self-conflict ? It is a most uncomfortable condition, and had he the means of judging, he would, while in this state, use them amiss. Shall he modify his darling theory a little by his other individual relations ? Alas ! there is a God above him, not accountable to him, a God who has laid the line to the plummet, and will do with his creature, as he falls on the one side or the other of it—a God who took not him into his counsels when he gave Law to the universe, and who bids him obey it ;—hedged in by over-ruling circumstances which he was born to, and which have grown and strengthened around him, as he has lived on, he finds it hard to modify his theory of Law by any of these. Will he let go his hold, and allow Law to flow on with the mighty current of things ? No ! Pride swells self-importance, and the spirit of self clings to it. Turning from them, yet followed closely by them, he exaggerates his darling Right, that he may rid himself of their pressure upon him. He must not only magnify this right in theory ; he must realize it as a fact ; and to this end, must use it.

To rid himself of that spirit of reverence, which supposes in the Law and its ministers something above him, and not to be inconsiderately touched by him, he speaks of Law as made for him, and not of himself as made for Law—he is neither born under the Law, nor brought into subjection to it.

His notion of Law having no relationship to other things habitual with him, and not being regulated by long existing checks and counter-checks, or bounded by settled demarcations, but lying loosely and confusedly in a mind jealous of its privileges and fond of power, through a feeble limited exercise of it, he comes to esteem wholesome restraint to be lordly usurpation and authoritative Law, bondage.

And, for the like reason, when in power, the exercise of uncontrolled will is but the use of the natural rights of a free-man, and opposition to it, the rebellion of the few against the will of the many ; for when *of* the many, in feeling, the individual is the many.—Think of the all-pervading influence of that sin, by which fell the angels ; and in the strength of which man yet stands out against his Maker, and then think of the tremendous power of these confused forces !

In the proportion that this principle is strong, all antagonist principles are weak. Law when not a power above us, and moving on us, but subject to us, and to be moved by us, becomes mere force in our hands. Besides, where power is not exercised through established ranks with settled duties and rights, but through a mere majority, accidental both in its birth and duration, made up of incoherent masses of men of all conditions, discordant in manners, thoughts and feelings, and scarcely intelligible to each other—and with but one purpose in common—that purpose becomes a bond of union of tremendous strength, even because it is only One.

Here, and here alone are they in sympathy ; in the exercise of power without any of those lesser sympathies, which playing back and forth among men who have many ties of acquaintance, serve as alleviating influences to the intensity of a single passion and aim. And through this it is that a majority, under this *equality* form of Law, is so blind, so arrogant, so impatient of check, so unsparing and appalling in its character : its very holding together depends upon the intensity of the excitement of its single aim.—This is the vital principle of the body ; and if this is not kept up hot and quick, the extremities grow cold, and there being no other combining influence, the body decomposes and is lost : it is felt, that without strong excitement, there is no longer life. In this exercise of power they have little to bound them beside their own wills. No established customs sanctified by time and associations awaken a kindly relucting in their hearts ; there are no varieties of nu-

merous orders, high or low, lying across their way !—it is one level, broad, trampled road.

When the spasm is over, they have no old places to go home to, no hereditary private occupations and privileges, naturally, and with a relief of heart, to fall back upon and be at rest.—No ! While there is any thing above them in heaven or earth, there is no equality for them ; they must be stirring, and forming into parties, after freemen's rights—that is—Equality, and that is—Power.

To strengthen this restlessness, Change is a grand object with them, because permanency in Law is, in itself, control. Whatever has stood for any length of time, is not only in their way, but is an offence to their pride, as something not yet subjected to their power, nor bearing marks of their authority :—To be older than they, is usurpation, insult and wrong. And thus, we find that while the love of power strengthens, as obstacles lessen, so, the principle of change comes in to finish the work and sweep all away.

The final tendency of this form of Law, and of such forms as resemble it, is to enthrone a Despot. No one is so likely to become the servile worshipper of a Tyrant, as a thorough-going liberty-and-equality man. Law itself being in his eyes, only an instrument in his hands, for convenience, the carrying on of mere public purposes, and for the advancement of public physical prosperity, it cannot be said to possess any sanctity with him, and not even respect, any further than he perceives its immediate *cui bono*—its earthly end. His treatment of it, then, will be directed by his principle of Utility alone. But is it not a necessary consequence, from the structure of the mind, that where man acts from a secondary, and not from the highest possible principle, his tendency is downward ? Where, then, we make that debasing system of philosophy—(if philosophy it may be called) *Utility*, our principle of action, rather than that ennobling, ultimate principle of our nature,—*Right*—of which Law is the glorious manifestation and form, we gradually lose our perception of true utility itself, we begin to limit its extent and time, till, by and by, we look no further than the present, and the circle of its operations becomes *self*. Law, having thus lost its venerable spiritual form to us, and being no longer an object of worship to the mind, that feeling of want of an object above us, which can never become extinct, leads us to supply the absence of our worship of Law, and reverence for its true

priesthood, by setting up some idol fellow-being, independent of old Law, and standing upon power alone, and before him we bow down, and haste to do his pleasure :—The effect upon the mind is precisely that of atheism, the course of which is to idolatry.

Every principle of the mind has its opposite ; (I do not mean its *contrary*) reverence of a true superior produces kindness towards an inferior, and the spirit of right obedience, respect for the claims of those below. So, those, who are impatient under settled and old authority, are the most capricious masters, and the most unreasonable and overbearing in their demands :—I have ever observed, that a complete equality-man in public, was generally the most absolute of men at home.—Again, where any right principle is wanting in us, there must be its contrary ; where there is not reverence, there must be servility, there must be tyranny :—Who is that more unsparing despot than the leading despot himself?—Always, always, that despot's *slave*.

Let me hasten to notice the effect of this form of Law upon man in his more private and inward character, and upon those relations which lie out of what is more strictly termed, public life. I have all along gone on the ground of the mutual influence of the private upon the public, and the public upon the private relation ; for, as I said in the beginning, nothing stands unrelated and alone ; but let one string be struck, and the vibration runs through the universe of God. And if Law and the individual and private condition do not assimilate, they cannot hold on in separate courses and in peace—there must be strife between them ; for acting upon one object—man—if in their action and purposes there be not harmony, the question comes up, To which of them shall the man belong ?

I have already questioned what, under the notion of Liberty, has passed into a saying—that the best form of Law is that which leaves man most to himself ; and I have spoken of some of the healthful influences of the opposite principle upon the social character. Let me add to these, that the majestic power of Law impresses upon man a sense of subordination, and by the various forms and Orders through which it may present itself, a consciousness of restraint, and of a need of self-denial, and a curbing of the will. Deprive Law of this majesty and pervading presence, and the man grows negligent of the rights and feelings of his fellow-men, and regardless of those little proprie-

ties, which, too delicate to define, constitute the beauty of social life, and return again into the bosom of him who showed them forth. Without the spirit of subordination there *is* no liberty ; without the restraint of Order, no freedom ; without this awful Presence of Law, man is every body's slave, and far worse, a slave unto himself.

I have spoken of the effect of the doctrine of Equality upon man's religious relations, and the tendency which the acknowledging of no superior in his political connexions, has to produce that pride and that self-dependence which gradually dispose a finite and dependent creature to forget his true condition, and to give over his faith in that which reminds him of it. It has been usual to talk of the infidelity of the French Revolution, as accidental to it, or as an antagonist principle to the assumptions and abuses of Romish priestly power. No doubt, its force was increased by these ; but its birth was in that which led to the Revolution itself. The Equality principle contains in itself the seeds of infidelity, and when it puts forth, infidelity flowers with it. The tendency of this form of Law may be seen in even that part of the religious community which holds it at this day—in hot-headed action, in a disregard of consequences, through a self-willed, impatient resoluteness to reach a certain end, and in the over-balance of the active, in comparison with the meditative powers—in more of zeal than of apparent unction, in a certain hardness and confidence of manner—a want of a courteous regard of others. And may not the popularity of those utilitarian views in religion, which measure our love of God, by just what it may be worth to us—a quid pro quo, and bargain system betwixt man and his Maker, be in some degree one of the consequences of this form of Law ? May it not also be from the same source, that there is so strong a disposition to weaken the doctrine of dependence on the aid of God, and to talk of God as existing for man, rather than man for him ? in the same way, as I have remarked, man looks upon Law as made for his use, and not upon himself as made for Law ? This view of Law when carried out, tends to enfeeble the apprehension of the divine Law, of its uncompromising strictness, of the awful sin and irreverence in its breach, of its direful penalties, and of the enlarged wisdom of that Justice which puts those penalties in force.

As the tendency of this principle, when applied to our social state, is to a level, and as, on the contrary, the course of things is to inequality, man, instead of doing what is best in his condition,

is discontented in it, and restless after something lying beyond it. Moderation in his desires and aims being annihilated, his scrupulousness about means to ends is endangered. His eagerness after the unattained is increased, and the ties of customs, habits, local associations, and the countless little attachments, so congenial with what is thoughtful, gentle, affectionate, social, cheerful, in his nature, are all weakened. In short, the sentiment and poetry of his being—the highest state of being—are suffocated in the sweat and dust of the eager and selfish race of life.

Much of this may be seen in the change that our society has undergone within one life of man. We have become active, at the expense of meditation, wealthy at the cost of that simplicity so needed for home comfort, and are all, as it were, grown strangers to our several conditions, for we are perpetually changing them; so that they are ever new to us, and we to them. This lessens ease of heart and naturalness of manners; for the heart craves an old, wonted home in which to be at rest; and naturalness of outward port comes of being habituated to our condition.

Men are less *social*, too, than of yore. For all those habits, and sympathies, and unobserved assimilations, which grow out of having so much in common with a particular class of our fellow-men, are what put us at ease, and render our spirits social. Even the old fashion of distinguishing garbs for the several classes, once helped to give life to the social character. This and like distinctions are now done away; there must be no visible marks; all are now jumbled together, without affinities, into one huge, unsocial mass, and called, the people. Nor are men unsocial from this want alone of assimilating qualities within each class. As no man is willing to let Law determine his place, he has not, of mere right, any certain stand, which nobody thinks of disputing with him. The want of this makes each one jealous of his neighbour, and quick to take casual inattention for intended disrespect. Another, esteeming himself, individually, a little higher than his left-hand man, and there being no Law by which this is settled, magnifies his state, and guards it with amusingly anxious minuteness, or with cold reserve. There can be no courteous notice of him next below, lest he assume upon it; and no pleasant return on the part of the latter, lest he be thought impertinent.—We may rely upon it, that this Law of Equality is, in the long run, more anti-social in its

effects, than the law of the Turk. It not only runs through our out-of-door relations, producing individual distance and severance there, but it also enters our houses, and estranges master from servant, and mistress from maid. Indeed, these very terms are thrown back upon us with disdain. And, it is truly a curious fact, that those of the only order humble enough to take this name of servant upon themselves, are the persons elected to make and execute the laws by which the multitude is governed; and so much of meekness have these, that, as if to make up the lack of this quality elsewhere, they style themselves, not the servants of one or two only, but, "the servants of the people!"—setting an excellent example of humility, while at the same time, they encourage in those they serve, a spirit the most opposite to it.

Again—what effect has this form of Law upon the Young? As they hear so much of Liberty and Equality, they, too, must needs stand upon the same plain with their elders. As they have little reverence for the majesty of Law, and for its ministers—for that which has a claim upon them—from the very structure of the mind, they lose reverence for age; as it is impossible to lack reverence for any one thing, in itself venerable, without coming gradually to want it towards all that is worthy of being revered:—There is no possibility of weakening a principle in its action upon one object, and yet keeping it strong, where bearing upon others of a like nature. Hence, a false state in our relations to each other. And as the false tends to excess, equality alone does not long content the young; they soon slight the old, and speak of their want of light and enlargement of mind, and when inclined to especial civility, assume a patronizing air, to put them at ease. A like influence is had upon the filial relation; but it is enough to show the operation of the principle in one instance, and all may apply it to other cases, for themselves.

We find this principle, again, in our schemes of Education. Every body must be educated like every body. And why not? for if, in this condition of chance circumstances, one be down to-day, he is looking, through this *equality* system, to be at the *top* to-morrow. And as there are no obstacles from Orders by Law, to retard this, and each expects to rise to the top, as naturally as cork in water, though the course of events are against it, the thousand are educated for that which possibly may be the good luck of the one. But as, do what we may, circumstances

and situation, as well as books, will have a hand in educating us, the unhappy scholar is in the condition of one who is under the charge of a score of teachers with a score of discordant systems. Hence follows a discordant character in the person taught. Embroidery, the piano-forte, bad French, and—for what is called composition,—worse English, do not exactly sort with the multifarious drudgeries of humble life. This would be a small matter, did it not bring along with it dissatisfaction at our condition, and an aim, not so much to be respectable in that, as to pass for belonging to a better—did it not fill the head with vain fancies, and destroy simplicity of character, by tempting us to ape that which we are not: accomplishments is the word, and a smattering on many subjects the thing; and the result of these is, with little of real knowledge, less or none of true wisdom. I will venture to assert, that with all our show of academies, and all the hodge-podge of lyceums, our fathers and mothers, in the same walks of life, possessed more rightly balanced, and quite as wise and discerning minds as we; for pretence to that which is not really ours, unfits us for the use of that which is. In their little, yet careful reading; in their limited objects of knowledge, yet thoroughness in what they knew, there was a harmony with their condition, the result of which was congruity of character, good sense, and a consequently prepared mind for any change of condition.

I might go on all through the multitude of conditions in life, and show how Law, having helped to produce this in the private relations, is acted back upon by these relations; but I have said enough to make the principle to be understood.

If the view here taken be, in the main, just, it will continue to be so. The principle must remain a fundamental one, though there may be modified applications of it, in particulars, to the changes that society may undergo. If Law is ordained to have an influence upon the passions, sentiment, and affections, let it be remembered, that these are constituents of man's nature, and must exist along with him; and that all endeavours to annihilate them, or to bring them into subjection to the understanding, by first of all pouring knowledge into the mind, is beginning at the wrong end, and attempting to subject the moving powers of the soul, to that which is moved by them. While, for instance, there is pride in the heart, it is in vain to attempt subduing it by adding to our knowledge; for here "knowledge puffeth up." While there is malignity, craft, envy—the more knowledge, the

more is there for these to act with and upon. The selfish principle may change its mode of operation, through its increased knowledge of means, but it is still the master mover, and will continue to be so, till the moral evil is first subdued, and the head be taught wisdom through the heart. I cannot doubt that God is permitting the popular system of education to be tried out, only to convince man how worse than in vain is the endeavour to bring society into order by any other way than by first bringing the heart into an ordered harmony with *Himself*. The first breach of God's Law was not a mistake of the head, it was a sin of the heart; and thus discord was brought in; and that man may come once more into harmony with himself and with his fellow-man, he must again come under obedience of heart to his God:—as ignorance was not the cause of sin, so knowledge will not cure it. And, in very deed, there cannot be a just perception of a moral truth, save through a first quickened moral affection. If this be so, that form of Law which is best fitted to awaken and keep alive these principles in man, will be just as necessary in ages to come, as it is now: man will ever need those influences which shall shed through the soul the spirit of Obedience, Humility and Content.

‘But,’ say some good people, ‘Religion is to be a substitute, and is to come in, and do all which Law through Authority and Orders, may have done.’—It cannot be so! Right Law will always act upon the same principles in man that religion acts upon,—they are co-workers; and from all we have yet seen of the christian world, it is in no state to spare it. True, when Christianity shall have had a more thorough and enlightening influence upon man, (being felt by him through *all* the relations of life) Law may not bear to him so severe an aspect as now; but it will be the change wrought in himself and not in Law, that will make its face more gentle,—it will be because the spirit of Submission has spread throughout his soul, and Obedience is easy unto him, and his lot in life pleasant unto him, whatsoever it be:—Had Christians more enlightened views of what will be their relations and duties in eternity, they would not be striving after such Utopias here.

It is not the end of Religion to put all men upon a footing. There is reason to believe that there will be quite as great a variety of duties to perform, of obligations to regard, of ranks and orders to be respected, each by each, in heaven, as now there are here. Can it be supposed that many of the faculties

and affections of man are to be annihilated or forever to lie dormant within him? Are there to be no occasions, between spirits, for the exercise of humility, gratitude, kindness, condescension, content? No opportunities for considerateness and gentleness in commands? for cheerfulness and faithfulness in performing them? Are there not to be the helper and the helped? the weaker and the stronger, the more and the less wise? Is not heaven to be a social state? And if so, is it to be stripped of the best exercises of the virtues of that state? I think not. Law therefore, is to be a helper in preparing us for that state. And Christians will yet learn that it is not the purpose of religion to lay level these distinctions in the form of Law, but to prepare the heart to respect them; to fit it for contentment in its lot, faithfulness in its duties, and through the right use of these its earthly relations, to be helped in being made meet for those above,—to dwell forever in peace, amidst thrones, dominions, principalities and powers.—The great change that man is to undergo, in entering upon his labours and joys above, will not be in the paralyzing of any of his intellectual and moral powers and affections, or in laying aside their uses, but in the entire sanctification of them all. If we would but realize this a little more, how much better should we, even now, realize eternity, and how far better should we harmonize with our duties and relations here!

In these few and desultory thoughts upon the question—What Form of Law is best suited to the Individual and Social character of Man,—I have considered each of the two Forms spoken of in its tendencies chiefly; for nowhere can be found either men or Law, as they actually exist, doing more than making approaches towards what I have supposed. Nor will it ever be otherwise here. What are the true limits under either form, —how far the principle of Obedience, and of learning in whatsoever state we are, therewith to be content, should be carried; or on the other hand, how much of Liberty and an approach to Equality are necessary in order to manliness of character, well-grounded hope of prosperous, crowning endeavour, and to energy and activity of life,—no man can precisely measure.

If I have shown a preference for the former rather than for the latter, I have done no more than to declare my honest, thorough convictions. And let it be remembered, that on the side of these convictions lay the prophetic fears of our Fathers

for the safety of our land, to guard which the wisest of them surrounded us by as strong a Form of Law as the people would well bear.

Though it has been my purpose to treat this subject simply as an abstract principle, I cannot leave it without a word of application to ourselves.

The spirit of the age, as it is termed, which is now at work in the mother country, to the destruction, it is to be feared, of that which has constituted the peculiarity and the excellency of the English individual and national character, is rife here, and rife, too, without those needful checks and influences which are as yet spared to her. Need I speak of those reckless combinations of men, called mobs, which are breaking out over every part of our land? They are but the momentary eruptions of those fires which are now burning at the very centre of our System itself. The *principle* may be found running through all classes of our society, from the lowest, up to the highest. And although, at this moment, a wholesome fear may be found operating upon the upper classes, is it not a fear for the security of property only, rather than an alarm which springs from a discerning of the poisonous growth which is rooted in our very soil? Yet, does not our condition show the truth of what I have endeavoured to make plain? Is there any need of going over the ground again, and of tracing up to the form of Law which is peculiar to us, that all-pervading, all-absorbing love of gain, which is our besetting sin; that tyranny of opinion, which leaves to no man the freedom of his own thoughts; that prying spirit, which *mouses him out* in his most secret retirements; and that meddling disposition, which puts shackles upon the freedom of all his acts? Are not these things so? Let any man walk our streets. How sharp, and eager, and careful, are the faces he looks into! Let him lend an ear to what is said as he passes along; and will he not, when he goes home, and shuts his door after him, cry in weariness of spirit, with him of old, ‘*Their talk is of bullocks*’? Let us lay aside awhile our sensitive national vanity, and ask the liberal and intelligent who visit us from all lands, as to the reality of these things. In our Form of Liberty, then, is there not a subtile and pervading spirit of bondage weighing upon the freedom of the soul of man?

But a more obvious and a tremendous evil is threatening us; the hatred of the poor to the rich;—no, not of the poor, but of

the middling classes—of those who are well housed, and well clothed, and well fed, and who make their daily gains, and to whom the highway to wealth is as open as to those who have gone on before : These are they who are laying hold on their brother's heel, and would fain get from him his inheritance. And it is curious to remark how in the portion of God's heritage in which the principle of Liberty and Equality has been attempted to be most thoroughly carried out—in New England—this spirit is now most restless and alive. And why is it so, but from the very absence of checks and balances, and settled orders, and distinctive habits and associations, and the want of an agreement between the ordinary courses of Providence and our outward, public Form of Law ?—The theory of perfect Liberty and Equality, when aimed at in *act*, ends in nothing more or less than despotism in its most awful form,—the despotism of the mad many over the considerate few. Money-loving as we are, this restlessness does not come mainly from our desire for wealth, but from our impatience at inequality of condition. Property happens to be its object, because property is tangible, and addresses itself to the sense, and because, too, it is not a peculiar, and individual characteristic of any one in particular, but intrinsically accidental, and in its nature within every one's reach : the very fact that it does not lie without the compass of any one, makes the possession of it the object of hatred to all. If this spirit went only to take wealth from the hands of its present possessors, it would be an evil comparatively light. But with the cry of Liberty and Equality, it goes to deprive each individual of the free exercise of his moral endowments and intellectual powers,—of his self-denial, his prudence, his sagacity, his enterprize, his industry, and his strength of will ; for it takes away the motive to their exercise, and thus destroys their life in robbing him of their rewards.—What oppression is here ! The impossibility of realizing the notion of Equality, can, perhaps, in no instance be more distinctly seen. It is in contradiction to the exercise of every moral and intellectual attribute, and shows us that there is no Liberty without settled limits and restraints ; and without inequalities in the social system, no security to rights.

Although some may think that too little of the good and too much of the ill have been here pointed out in that Form of Law which our Constitution most resembles, few will think that the true character and causes of those ills have been mistaken,

or will doubt their lying deep in the workings of that system upon our natures, or that they must be guarded against by a watchfulness over every movement of pride, and by a strengthening of every principle of obedience and humility in man.

It is a superficial view of things, to give into the faith, that a present difficulty overcome, all will be well. It is painful to find the great men, now struggling for our preservation, giving strength to this faith ; and to stave off an immediate and pressing evil by winning the people to their side, imbuing them with a rash confidence in final and permanent success, through declamations about their light, their knowledge, their virtue and their power, thus fitting them to renew the very evils dreaded now, or to bring down upon themselves even worse than present dangers—worse to them, because made presumptuous through present escapes. Let the voice of our wise Witherspoon warn us,—“ I look upon ostentation and confidence to be a sort of outrage upon Providence ; and when it becomes general, and infuses itself into the spirit of the people, it is a forerunner of destruction.”

We must beware then of that popular, but most dangerous creed, that a free country will work off its evils. No country *is* free, that is not moral ; and no country moral, that bows not itself in lowliness of spirit, to its God, and moves not on in patient Obedience, through the many wise arrangements of His Will.

ARTICLE II.

HOW ARE THE DESIGNATIONS OF TIME IN THE APOCALYPSE
TO BE INTERPRETED ?

By M. Stuart, Prof. of Sacred Lit. in the Theol. Sem. Andover.

A question, which, every considerate reader of the Scriptures at the present time must well know, is more easily asked than answered. It would seem, however, when one reads the mass of English and American interpreters of prophecy from the time of the venerable Joseph Mede down to the present day, as if they had seen or felt little of the difficulty which has been suggested. Since the publication of the *Clavis Apocalyptica* by Mr. Mede, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, most of the expositors in our language have in a manner taken it for granted, that *one day* stands for a *year* in the prophetic writings, particularly in those of Daniel and John.

As this assumption lies at the very basis of all the calculations which have been made by these interpreters, respecting the time when events predicted in the Apocalypse and in the book of Daniel will be fulfilled; and as it has given birth to a multitude of confident and often repeated assertions, respecting the period when the reign of the *man of sin* will cease and the days of latter glory be introduced; it becomes a matter of deep interest to all who love the word of God and the cause of truth and righteousness in the world, to examine soberly and carefully, whether there is any good foundation for the opinion which has just been mentioned.

No article of our creed essential to *saving* faith depends indeed upon the point before us; but the anticipations, the hopes, the fears, and therefore the quietude, of many a christian mind, stand connected with its views of the time when the day of glory shall be ushered in. Christian action, moreover, may be seriously affected by these views.

Before I proceed to examine in detail the particulars, which must be considered in order to come to a satisfactory conclusion relative to the point before us, it is proper, and perhaps necessary, that I should premise some general considerations respecting the interpretation of the prophetic books; and particularly that of the Apocalypse.

It will be admitted by all, that one great object of prophecy was to *teach*; and of that part of it which properly comes under the denomination of *prediction*, to teach something relative to future events. If this be not so, for what purpose could prophetic inspiration be given? The prophet surely designed, when he uttered any predictions, to give some light, to administer some consolation, to disclose some matter of grief or of rejoicing, or in some way to act upon and influence the men to whom his prophecy was first directed, and for whom it was in some particular manner uttered. But if this be true, then it would seem to follow, that he must have spoken or written in such a manner as to be intelligible at least in the main, to sensible and enlightened men of his time and nation. Just so far as his words were unintelligible, or were not actually understood, so far there was in them neither light, nor consolation, nor matter of grief or joy; nor could they produce any influence whatever, at least no good one. If Daniel or John spake what they neither understood themselves, and what others whom they addressed could not understand, then the books which they have written, so far as they consist of such unintelligible prophetic declarations, were to them and their cotemporaries nothing more than a prediction written in Chinese would be to us, if now presented to the religious community of our country.

Nay, I might well say, the case in respect to the prophets would be a much more desperate one than ours. Men could be found, here and in England, who understand and could interpret a Chinese writing. But if John, for example, did not, even when under the influence of divine inspiration, understand what he himself wrote; and if the Christians whom he addressed did not understand him; then how could any *subsequent* generation discover the meaning of the apostle's predictions? Will you say, that such generation must apply the laws of interpreting language, in order to understand them? The answer is, that John and his cotemporaries could do the same. The laws of exegesis, i. e. the fundamental laws of it, are founded in the reason and common sense of all ages and of all nations. They were common to John and his cotemporaries, and to all who have lived since their time and have read their writings. If now John himself, and the churches whom he addressed, did not and could not understand the predictions which he wrote; if they could not, with all the advantages they possessed from living in the same age and same country, and from speaking the

same language, explain what the apostle meant ; then how could any subsequent generation expect rightly to interpret what had hitherto been beyond the reach of human effort to explain, even when made under the most favourable circumstances ? The expectation would be unreasonable and illusive.

But it will probably be said here, that *events* themselves explain predictions ; and consequently, when things predicted take place, then, and not till then, the prophecy will be understood. This suggestion is the common, I might almost say, the general one, whenever a difficulty occurs in the prophetic writings which an interpreter does not know how to overcome.

It would be inconsistent with my present design, to discuss this topic at length. I have done it in another place ; and what I should have to say, is already before the public.* It is enough for the present merely to suggest, that the assumption before us manifestly involves a *ὑστερον πρότερον*. What are the *things predicted* ? According to the statement of those who advocate the views in question, the prophecy when uttered was *unintelligible* ; and it remained so until its fulfilment. But now, when it is fulfilled, it becomes intelligible. But what, I ask, is *its* fulfilment ? When we so speak, we mean of course that certain events tally with certain predictions. But how do we, or can we, know this fact ? This cannot possibly be known in any way, unless we first assign some definite meaning to a prophecy, and then compare certain events with that meaning, in order to know whether there is a correspondence between the two. In doing this, however, we have done what we had no right to do, according to the statement before us ; for if we are to credit this, the laws of interpretation will not enable us to give any definite meaning to the prophecy, and yet we do after all make out some kind of meaning for the prophetic words, before we can compare events with them. This then involves a real *ὑστερον πρότερον*, on the ground assumed by the objector ; for we do *first*, in such a case, what we were forbidden to do first if he is in the right. Yet after all, we do no more than we always must do, before we can tell whether any writing is good or bad, consistent or inconsistent, prophetic or hortatory ; for how can this be told before some meaning is given to it ?

To say that the objects or events to which any prophecy re-

* See Biblical Repos. Vol. II. p. 217.

lates, may be and usually are better understood when they make their appearance or take place than before, is beyond all doubt true. He who has visited Jerusalem in person, understands it better than he did while his knowledge was derived only from maps and the reports of travellers. So the humblest Christian who lives in the light of gospel-day, may know more in some respects of his Saviour and of the gospel dispensation, than any priest or prophet of old did. But this affords no evidence that what the prophets have actually uttered, means any more than what according to the usual principles of language it purports to mean. How far the prophets themselves were enlightened, and how much they were instructed to communicate, must be judged of by us not by reasoning and argument dependent on principles *a priori*, but from what they have actually communicated by their words.

If any one should still urge, that the prophets often declare themselves to be at a loss respecting certain things which are proffered to their view or are said to them, and therefore they could not have understood those things; the obvious answer is, that this applies only to certain *symbols*, when first proffered to view, the particular significance of which would of course need some explanation; or else to some declarations of a peculiar and apparently dubious nature, the application of which, for the like reason, needed to be pointed out. But let it never be forgotten, that when the prophets complain of obscurity, an angel-interpreter is always at hand in order to remove it. In the books of Daniel, Zechariah, and John, for example, we every where find the holy seer in company with a heavenly interpreter; elsewhere the prophets do not allege any obscurity.

Nothing can be more instructive than the views of Paul, in relation to this important subject, viz., the intelligibility of prophetic revelations; 1 Cor. xiv. When the gift of tongues enabled some members of the Corinthian church to speak in a language unknown to the brethren in general, Paul reprehends in a severe manner those, who displayed such a talent without at the same time causing what they said to be interpreted. The church, says he, receives no edification from such gifts thus employed. *In the church*, he goes on to say, *I had rather speak five words in the exercise of my faculty of intelligence*, [διὰ τοῦ νοός μου, i. e. in such a way as my understanding dictates in order to be understood by others], *to the end that I may instruct others, than ten thousand words in a foreign language;*

1 Cor. 14: 19. Who can help most heartily uniting with him ! Yet if the prophets have spoken in a way which after all they themselves did not understand, nor their angel-interpreters explain, and which the men of their age and nation could not understand nor any after-ages interpret, then is Paul greatly at variance with them. In such a case, they uttered what was just as dark as a foreign language ; and what has, without the possibility of edification, continued to occupy the pages of the Bible, and served to cast darkness rather than light upon its readers. Is this the manner in which God deals with the men, to whom he designs to make known his counsels respecting future events that are deeply interesting to his church ? Paul directs him who speaks in an unknown tongue, *to pray that he may interpret* ; 1 Cor 14: 13. If then what he said in that unknown tongue (unknown to the body of the Corinthian church), was capable of being interpreted, it was of course capable of being understood by him who had a knowledge of the particular language in which it was uttered. In like manner, what the prophets of old uttered, either in Hebrew or Greek, was intelligible to a man of cultivated understanding, whose vernacular language was Hebrew or Greek. Otherwise the book of God contains many a passage which has been useless ever since it was written, and will yet continue to be so. Respecting all such positions we may surely say, with Paul : “ If the trumpet give an *uncertain* sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle ? ” Believe in the unintelligible nature of prophecy whoever may, I cannot refrain from the belief, that when God *reveals* any thing to men, he speaks intelligibly ; and that he has *not* filled the book of light and consolation with dark, and double-meaning, and dubious sayings, like those of the shrine at Delphos and other heathen temples. Many a saying may be dark to our age and nation, because it is clothed in words that are *foreign*, and because the manners and customs and peculiar modes of thinking and speaking among the ancients are not familiar to us. But *subjective* darkness or obscurity, i. e. darkness or ignorance in us, is one thing ; *objective* darkness, i. e. obscurity in prophecy itself as originally uttered, is a very different one. Let us not, through mistaken views of our own knowledge, or prejudice, or hasty reasoning, put to the account of the prophets the darkness that is within ourselves.

I have said thus much on this subject, because I wished to vindicate the Apocalypse and other prophetic writings, from charges which are often made against them of impenetrable

mystery and obscurity. *Mystery*, in the sense of containing that which was before hidden from ages and generations," I freely acknowledge that they contain; for their very object is to reveal such mysteries. But as to *obscurity*; that is principally in *us*. The men who wrote prophecy (I repeat it once more) designed it to be read and *understood*; and if they did, they wrote of course in an intelligible manner.

I do not aver, that the most ignorant of the multitude, in the days of John, could comprehend his meaning throughout the apocalyptic visions. But this is like that which happens at the present time. It is not every individual who can comprehend a good sermon; I mean, as to every word in all its parts; much less can he fully comprehend a thorough and deep discussion of a difficult point in theology. But intelligent and enlightened men can comprehend such discourses and discussions. And thus it was in the days of the prophets. The wise could understand, although the wicked did not. Prophecy is most of it clothed in the garb of *poetry*. Even the books of Daniel, Zechariah, and the Apocalypse, although not composed in the rhythm of poetry, or according to its usual laws of *parallelism*, still breathe every where the *spirit* of poetry, and exhibit the *disjecta membra poetarum*. Some education, some mental illumination, we may well concede, is needed in order to read and understand books, which are poetic in their diction, and whose style is elevated, impassioned, abounding in metaphor, brevity, energy, and imagery. What abounds in symbol, too, needs some illumination of the understanding, and some chastening of the reasoning powers, in order to be comprehended so that mistakes may be avoided. But these difficulties are not peculiar to the Hebrew poets and prophets. They are common to poetry of an elevated order, at all times and among all nations.

The particular drift of all these remarks remains yet to be pointed out. If the principles laid down are correct, it would seem to be a plain conclusion, that prophecy, and therefore the Apocalypse, was originally *intelligible*; with such modifications and restrictions as have just been intimated. Conceding this now to be a fact, can it be probable that the designation of *times* specified in the Revelation, was as dark and mysterious to John and his cotemporaries, as some interpreters of modern times have supposed it to be? I cannot persuade myself that such was the fact. What object could be answered by John, in the annunciation

of times in respect to certain events, when such annunciation was unintelligible and altogether inexplicable as to any good sense? To suppose that such was the case, would be to suppose that John trifled with the churches, to whom his book was addressed, and affected the mysterious and profound air of the Egyptian and Grecian hierophants; a supposition which nothing but absolute necessity should compel us to make.

But if the notations of time in the Apocalypse were intelligible to John and his cotemporaries, are they also to us? The former may have been true, as is the case in regard to most or all of the Scriptures; but there may still be many texts of whose true meaning we are, and must for the present be, ignorant, because we do not possess those means of coming at the right understanding of them which were once enjoyed.

We have already seen, how the great body of English and American interpreters have answered the question, Whether the designations of time in the Apocalypse are intelligible to us? They have generally agreed, that one *day* in the Apocalypse stands for a *year*. Yet even in this, they have not all been consistent with themselves. The 1000 years of latter glory; the ten days during which the church at Smyrna was to be afflicted (Rev. 2: 10); the silence of half an hour in heaven (8: 1); the five months during which the locusts that came from the great abyss, are commissioned to devour (9: 5, 10); the hour and day and month and year, in which the destroying angels by the great river Euphrates are to do their work (9: 15); are all variously construed by different persons, who still unite in the supposition, that three years and a half, a time and times and half a time, and 1260 days, (periods severally mentioned in the Apocalypse, but designating the same length of time), are to be interpreted as meaning 1260 years, i. e. so that each day designates one year. The propriety and consistency of thus departing from their own principle, and at one time construing numbers respecting time literally in the Apocalypse, at another in an unlimited or indefinite way, and at a third in the peculiar manner just mentioned, deserve to be examined and fairly discussed.

That John has a manner which is his own, in his book of Revelation, need not be denied. There is no necessary obscurity in this; and we may safely admit, that in some respects this manner may be different from that of other prophetic writers. He may have conformed to idioms that had arisen in

the later Hebrew, after the closing of the Old Testament canon ; but idioms still which were common to his own age and country, and therefore intelligible to himself and to those whom he addressed.

The principal argument of those, who construe the 1260 days in the Apocalypse as meaning 1260 years, is drawn, as they aver, from *analogy*, i. e. from the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrew prophets. Now as an appeal to the *usus loquendi* is in general a legitimate and proper method of settling controversy in respect to the meaning of language, our first business will of course be, to examine whether it is (as alleged by Faber and many others) in conformity with prophetic usage thus to employ *days* as the representatives of *years*.

I must ask the patient attention of the reader to a somewhat protracted development of this point ; for much that is essential to our result, depends upon it.

In Gen. 6: 3, God announces to Noah that, although he is about to destroy man from off the face of the earth by the flood, yet his days shall be 120 years. Here we cannot doubt that the literal meaning of the numbers must be intended ; for otherwise we make a period of 32,260 years before the coming of the flood.

In Gen. 7: 4, God declares, ‘ that after seven days he will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights ;’ which cannot mean, that after seven years it shall begin to rain, and continue to do so for 14,400 years.

In Gen. 15: 13, it is predicted that the posterity of Abraham shall be a stranger in a land not theirs, and that they shall there be afflicted 400 years ; which surely cannot mean 144,000 years.

In Gen. xli. Joseph predicts, that seven years of plenty and seven of famine were to come upon the land of Egypt ; which beyond all doubt is to be literally understood ; inasmuch as 2,520 years of each is fairly out of the question.

In Num. 14: 33, it is predicted, that Israel shall wander in the wilderness forty years ; which we know was *literally* fulfilled.

In like manner, in Ezek. 29: 11, 12, it is threatened that the Egyptians shall be wasted for forty years, at the end of which they shall be gathered again, 29: 13. Yet commentators in general have not ventured here to make this designation of time to stand each day for a year ; and some of the more cautious do

So Jonah (3: 4) proclaimed to Nineveh, that in forty days it should be overthrown; but neither he nor the people of that city supposed this to mean forty years.

When Isaiah says (7: 8), that "within threescore and five years Ephraim shall be broken," we do not hesitate to construe his prediction as literal. So again when he says that "the glory of Moab shall be contemned, within three years" (16: 14), we doubt not of the literal interpretation of his words.

Jeremiah predicts (25: 11), that the Jews 'shall go into the land of Babylon as exiles, during seventy years;' yet who ever thought of making these into 25,200 years, as we must do if a day is to stand for a year?

Instances of this nature might be increased; but it is unnecessary. It will not be pretended that there is any example of designating times like those contended for in the Apocalypse, except in the book of Daniel, and once in Ezekiel. In respect to the Old Testament, it is only in Daniel that we meet with the mysterious and variously interpreted period of *a time and times and half a time*, which is equal to the 42 months, or the 1260 days, that are mentioned so often in the Apocalypse. Whether the instance in Ezek. 4: 4—6, already alluded to, where one day is *expressly* said to be put for a year, can be fairly supposed to afford any rule for the interpretation of prophetic numbers which designate time in the Apocalypse, remains for a subject of inquiry in the sequel.

Let us now turn our attention to the book of Daniel; for this we shall all acknowledge to be the great exemplar of John in the Apocalypse, as to diction and matter, as well as imagery. *The time and times and half a time*, in this ancient prophet (7: 25. 12: 7), is repeated in Rev. 12: 14; while in Rev. 11: 2 and 13: 5, we find its equivalent, viz., 42 months; and in Rev. 11: 3 and 12: 6, we meet with another equivalent, viz., 1260 days. Daniel, then, has brought to view this celebrated period *twice*, in the same or synonymous language; while the writer of the Apocalypse has mentioned it once in the same terms, and four times in equivalent ones.

Is the period named to be *literally* interpreted in the book of Daniel; or is it to be considered in the light of a definite number as used for an indefinite one; or must we consider each day as designating a year?

I am aware that different answers may and will be given to this inquiry, according to the different schemes of interpretation

which are applied to the book in question. On this subject I cannot now go into detail ; much less enter into controversy, which would require a volume instead of an essay. I can only state in a simple and direct manner, my views of the meaning of Daniel's prophecies in relation to the *times* which he designates ; while I must appeal for the justification of these views, to the latest and ablest commentators on this prophet ; to Bertholdt and Rosenmueller, but more especially to Hengstenberg and Havernick, with whom I more generally agree.

I begin with those periods in Daniel, which I consider to be the plainest and most certain. These are to be found in the 12th chapter ; and all of them relate, as I apprehend, and as is now generally agreed among the best commentators, to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is the almost exclusive subject of prediction in the closing part of the book before us.

To the question which Daniel puts (12 : 6) : " How long shall it be to the end of these wonders ? " viz., to the accomplishment of the wonders predicted in chap. xi. and the first part of chap. xii. (all of which seems to constitute one continuous prediction), the angel-interpreter answers, that " it shall be for a time and times and a half " (12 : 7), i. e. for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, = 42 months, or 1260 days.

Now on the supposition that this period of time relates to the desolations and sacrilege occasioned by Antiochus Epiphanes at Jerusalem, (and that it does I do not see any good reason to doubt), then it would seem that the designation of time was intended to be understood as *literal*, and not as representative, i. e. that which puts one day for a year.

Antiochus, as it appears from history, had been baffled in his fourth expedition against Egypt, in the spring of 167 B. C., by the interference of the Roman ambassadors, who inhibited his making war upon that country. In June of the same year, on his return from Egypt, he detached Apollonius, one of his military agents, with 22,000 men, in order to subdue and plunder Jerusalem. This was effected. Soon after this, Antiochus issued an edict, that all people under his dominion should conform to the heathen worship which he himself had adopted. To compel the Jews to the adoption of such a measure, he sent Athenaeus to Jerusalem, in order that he might instruct the Jews in the rites of heathen worship, and induce or compel them to join in those rites. On the 15th of Kislev (December) of the same year, an altar for sacrifice to Jupiter Olympius was

placed on the altar of Jehovah in the temple ; and on the 25th of the same month sacrifices were offered upon it. This was six months after Apollonius had taken the city. Three years after this, Judas Maccabaeus, having defeated the Syrian armies in Palestine, cleansed the temple, and again commenced sacrificing to Jehovah upon the altar there ; which took place exactly three years after its profanation by Athenaeus. In this way the three years and a half are plainly and satisfactorily made out.

In accordance with this, Josephus states (Prooem. ad Bell. Jud. § 7), that “ Antiochus, taking Jerusalem by force, held it three years and six months.” In Bell. Jud. I. c. 1. § 1, he states again, that “ the continuation of the daily sacrifices was interrupted [by Antiochus] for three years and six months.” It is true, indeed, that in Antiq. XII. c. 7. § 6, Josephus reckons this period at *three years* ; “ the temple, laid waste by Antiochus, remained in this state three years.” But in this latter case two explanations may be given of the variation from the preceding numbers. The first is, that Josephus means here to speak merely in round numbers, without designating the fraction of a year, (a usage so common that it needs no explanation) ; the second, that as a matter of fact, the heathen altar was set up in the temple, and sacrifices offered thereon, during only three years. Either explanation will be satisfactory to any one acquainted with the usages of language.

Before we proceed to the consideration of the other similar example in Dan. 7 : 25, which is a case of more difficulty, it will be useful to consider other and more certain designations of time in this book. In Dan. 12 : 11 it is said, that “ from the time the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be 1290 [not 1260 as before] days.” Is this a period different from the former $3\frac{1}{2}$ years ?

I apprehend it is not ; excepting that it is more *specific*. The same subject and the same events are referred to in both. But in the first designation of time, the more popular number three and a half (the half of the sacred number *seven*) is employed, and the whole occurrence is spoken of only in a general way ; while in the second designation (v. 11), both facts and time are more *specifically* stated. The difference is only thirty days between the two designations of time. The aim of the latter, it can scarcely be doubted, is to reduce the computation

to minute exactness. The whole is perfectly natural, and is not liable to any serious objection. Profane history vouches for the correctness of the time as generally stated. But this history does not enable us to specificate the *days*. In these circumstances, we may well admit the 1290 days to be an *exact* designation of time.

Once more ; in Dan. 12 : 12, he is pronounced to be blessed, "who waiteth and cometh to the 1335 days." What is the design of this specification ?

To answer this question we must advert to the fact, that on the 25th of the month Kislev (December) in the year 164 B. C., Judas Maccabaeus restored the temple worship. This was the *terminus ad quem* of the 1290 days. Antiochus died soon after this, at Tabae in Paratacene, on the frontiers of Persia and Babylonia, on his way toward Judea, with an exasperated resolution to exterminate the nation of the Hebrews. Profane history does not furnish us with the exact dates as to the *day* of his death ; but in the absence of this exactness, and while we have a general statement which tallies with the facts above related, we may well believe that the number of the prophet is scrupulously exact. The sum of 1335 exceeds 1290 by 45. It was 45 days, then, after the purification of the temple by Judas Maccabaeus, that the death of this furious and terrible persecutor happened. No wonder the prophet calls those blessed, who should live to see the day of deliverance from such horrible outrages as Antiochus committed. For a considerable time after his death, the Jews enjoyed quietude and religious liberty.

Thus far all is so natural and accords so well with *fact*, that we seem constrained to admit the *literal* interpretation of Daniel's numbers. But there are some other periods, in respect to which there may be more of doubt and difficulty.

One of the most controverted, is the designation of time in Dan. 8 : 14. Inquiry was made of one angel by another, after the desolations which the person signified by the *little horn* would occasion in Palestine had been disclosed by Daniel, (vs. 9—12), "How long the vision would be, concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation (חַטְּאת הַיּוֹם, *the desolating sin*), to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot." The answer received was, that "it would be for 2,300 days ; then should the sanctuary be cleansed ;" v. 14.

It would occupy a considerable volume, merely to give a his-

torical detail of the interpretations that have been put upon this passage. Nothing can be more diverse than some of them have been ; for they agree neither in the *terminus ad quem*, and of course not in the *terminus a quo* ; nor in the length of time, inasmuch as some make it 1150 days, some 2300, and others 2300 years. Amidst such an ocean (a tumultuous one too) of conjecture and even conceit, how shall one guide his little barque in safety, and arrive without wandering from his course at his destined port?

Mr. Faber, in his recent and learned work, *The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy*, the consummation (as he tells us) of his labours upon the prophecies, says, that we must understand the time inquired after by the angel here, to refer to the time occupied by *all the occurrences* designated in the whole of the preceding vision ; of course, to the time from the commencement of the Persian empire (symbolized by the *ram*), down to some important event (the cleansing of the sanctuary) 2300 years after this period. Accordingly he tells us, that the Persian empire took its rise somewhere between 811 and 771 A. C., and consequently the great period of 2300 years must terminate somewhere between 1490 and 1530 P. C. On the whole, he fixes upon A. C. 784 for the rise of the Persian monarchy ; and then considers the year 1517 P. C., (the year in which Luther commenced the Reformation), as the time of ‘cleansing the sanctuary.’

It would probably be in vain to suggest to Mr. Faber, that the vision here is expressly said to concern the *daily sacrifice* (vs. 11, 12, 13), i. e. the עֹלֶת וְזֶבַח הַתָּמִיד, which was and could be only *the morning and evening sacrifices of the temple* ; and consequently, that when this sacrifice had been interrupted and the temple defiled by heathen rites, “the cleansing of the sanctuary” must necessarily mean, the purification of the temple and the due restoration of its sacred rites. As Mr. Faber’s book and system are not built upon philology nor the sober principles of hermeneutics, so suggestions of this nature would doubtless have little or no weight with him. But men of a different cast, who demand a basis in philology and history for the support of an interpretation, will regard such exegesis with a very distrustful eye.

Nothing can appear plainer or more certain to me, than that the 2300 days have relation to what was to be done by the person symbolized by “the little horn” (Dan. 8 : 9), and that the

cleansing of the sanctuary was an event which was immediately to follow the overthrow of his power. That this person was Antiochus Epiphanes, the latter part of the book of Daniel does not seem to leave any sufficient room to doubt ; specially if we compare chap. 8 : 9—12 with 11 : 28, 30—36, 41—45, and chap. 12 : 10, 11. We have then, if this be allowed, the *terminus ad quem* of the 2300 days. It is the time when Judas Maccabaeus, after a succession of splendid victories over the Syrian forces of Antiochus, freed Palestine from the oppressive power of this tyrant, and “cleansed the sanctuary,” and renewed its sacred rites (as we have seen above) on the 25th day of the month Kislev (December), in the year 164, A. C.

If now we take this point, and count back 2300 days, i. e. 6 years and 14 days, (counting 360 days to a year, as John does in the Apocalypse, where 1260 days are mentioned as equivalent to 42 months or $3\frac{1}{2}$ years), then we must come to some point in the life of Antiochus from which these 2300 days commence, i. e. we must arrive at the *terminus a quo*. What is this point?

It would lead me entirely astray from my main purpose here, to discuss the various opinions of commentators in regard to this. Even Havernick, in his recent work on Daniel, has advanced the opinion that the *terminus a quo* begins with the conquest of Jerusalem by Apollonius, in June of 167 A. C., and that the *terminus ad quem* is not the cleansing of the sanctuary by Judas Maccabaeus, but the victory over Nicanor (A. C. 161), the military chief sent by Demetrius Soter the king of Syria in order to subjugate the Jews. But this, after all, leaves a *deficit* (according to his own mode of reckoning) of 29 days. Then, moreover, there was no interruption of the worship of the sanctuary under the reign of Demetrius Soter, and no cleansing of it by Judas. The whole expedition of Nicanor was designed principally to confirm the then high priest, Alcimus, in his office. This military commander did indeed exercise great severity and cruelty toward such Jews as resisted his interference ; but the interference itself was not in order to destroy the rites of temple-worship, but to decide who should conduct them. Consequently I cannot adopt the *terminus ad quem* of Havernick, because it appears to be so different from that described in Dan. 8: 13, 14.

I must count the 6 years and 14 days, then, back from the

cleansing of the sanctuary by Judas, in A. C. 164, to something done by Antiochus against the Jews or their religion. What was this? Is there any thing to correspond?

In the early part of Antiochus' reign, Onias (a young brother of the high priest Jason) who took the Greek name of Menelaus, and publicly abjured the Jewish religion, obtained the office of high priest, by bribing Antiochus with the promise of large sums of money in the way of tribute. In order to raise this money, he took the sacred vessels of the temple, and sold them to the Syrians. In the year 170 A. C., Antiochus invaded Egypt, and returning to Palestine for winter quarters, the Sanhedrim of the Jews sent deputies to him, while he was at Tyre, in order to accuse Menelaus of sacrilege, so that he might be removed from office. The accusation was fully substantiated; but Antiochus, from pecuniary motives, acquitted Menelaus, and put to death the three deputies of the Sanhedrim who came to accuse him. This was "casting down some of the host and stamping upon them." The word *host* (in vs. 10—13) evidently means the same as *holy people* in v. 24, viz., such as were zealous for the honour of God and the purity of his worship; not unlike the meaning which the evangelical poet gives it, when he speaks of "the sacramental *host* of God's elect."

Counting now from the year 164 A. C. in which the sanctuary was cleansed, to the year 170 A. C. in which this atrocious cruelty took place against the pious Jews, we have 6 years. As to the 14 days, we have no certain date in history to reckon them; but if the *years* are correct, we may well suppose the *days* to be so. It will be remembered, in making out the computation, that it was near the end of the year 164 A. C. when the sanctuary was cleansed by Judas; and it was also near the end of the year 170 A. C. when Antiochus retired to Palestine for winter quarters.

Three times after this, did Antiochus pass through Palestine in order to invade Egypt; never without vexations and exactions. The heavy tribute imposed upon Menelaus was kept up; and Menelaus himself, a sworn heathen as to religion, was kept in the office of high priest; who, when Antiochus (soon after the events related above) took forcible possession of the city of Jerusalem, 169 A. C. (a short time after the massacre above related, conducted him into the temple, joined him in his blasphemies there, and gave to him all the gold and silver

furniture which was found therein. On this occasion, Antiochus is said (according to Jahn) to have massacred 80,000 persons, to have taken 40,000 prisoners and to have sent as many more into slavery. Be it that the numbers are overrated, still the ravages must have been dreadful. Well might the angel, and Daniel after him, name this terrible enemy of the Jews, *the destroyer*, מַשְׁחֵם.

Renewed and awful desolations, made by this same destroyer, took place again in 167 A. C., as has already been stated above. There is no want of *facts* then, to shew that the *terminus a quo* may well begin with the massacre of the three deputies of the Sanhedrim late in 170 A. C.; and of course that the six years and fourteen days may end in the latter part of the year 164 A. C., when Judas cleansed the sanctuary.

Whether this period has been distinctly recognized by interpreters, I know not. I have inquired simply for facts. These are as has been stated; if the labours of Prideaux and Jahn are worthy of credit.

Thus far then all speak in favour of a *literal* interpretation of the designations of time in Daniel. One more passage of the like tenor with those examined, still remains; which has given occasion to as many different opinions, as the one that we have just considered.

In Dan. 7: 23—25, the fourth beast symbolizes a kingdom, out of which ten horns [kings] are to arise; and after these, another horn [king] diverse from them, who shall subdue three kings; who shall blaspheme God, and persecute the saints, and change times [appointed feast-days] and laws; and these [the saints and laws] are to be given into his hands, *for a time and times and the dividing* [i. e. half] *of time*; 7: 25. Are we to find Antiochus Epiphanes here? Or is this a designation different from all which we have yet considered?

These questions have been answered in different ways; as any one acquainted with the history of commentary would naturally suppose. According to Jahn, Dereser, De Wette, Bleek, and Rosenmueller, the four kings designated by the four beasts, in chap. vii., are the Chaldee, Median, Persian, and Macedonian empires; the latter empire including the four monarchies which sprang out of it. Bertholdt and some others have represented these kingdoms as being the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, that of Alexander, and the composite one of his successors. Others, and the great majority of expositors, repre-

sent the four monarchies as those of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Macedon, and Rome.

In favour of this last view, Hengstenberg has said some striking things in his *Authentic des Daniel*, p. 199 seq.; and Havernick also, in an Excursus at the close of his work on the same prophet. Those who wish for particulars may consult these works, and others on the prophecies of Daniel. In such general descriptions as those of this prophet in chap. vii., there is room enough for conjecture to those who are fond of indulging it; and not a little may be said in favour of several different theories of interpretation.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to determine the question, which scheme of interpretation as mentioned above is in the right. Be it that the Roman empire, or the Macedonian, is meant, still the "other horn" which arises after the ten horns (v. 24), is plainly an individual king, who is a blasphemer and a cruel and unrelenting persecutor of the pious. This king is to continue his persecutions for "a time and times and the dividing of time," i. e. three and a half years.* Now if we make this, (as Mr. Faber and others make all such designations of time), to mean 1260 years, what possible congru-

* That the Hebrew and Chaldee do thus employ the words which signify *time*, may be easily shewn. For such a Chaldee use, the reader may consult Dan. 4: 16, 23, 25, 32, (in the original Chaldee it is 4: 13, 20, 22, 29), where עֶדֶן, (*tempus statutum et definitum, season, appointed time*), is employed, in connection with the numeral שִׁבְעָה (*seven*), to designate the number of *years* during which Nebuchadnezzar should be exiled from his throne and affected with madness. The same word (Chaldee עֶדֶן) is again employed in the passage (Dan. 7: 25), on which the text above comments. The corresponding Hebrew word מוֹעֵד, of the same signification, is used for the same purpose, i. e. to designate *years*, in Dan. 12: 7. In like manner the Hebrew word יָמִים (in the *plural* only) is used to designate *years*; see in Lev. 25: 27. Judg. 17: 10. 1 Sam. 2: 19. Ex. 3: 10. Is. 32: 10, comp. 29: 1. 2 Chron. 21: 19, al. It seems to be plain, that the Hebrews and Chaldeans employed the words מוֹעֵד and עֶדֶן in the same way that we do the word *season*, which usually means *a regularly recurring or appointed time*. When we say, 'The next season I intend to build a house,' we mean, that we intend to build one the next year, although the idea of an appropriate part of the year for such a purpose, is also designated by the word *season*. But in the case specified above, עֶדֶן and מוֹעֵד do most plainly mean *year*.

ity or probability can there be in such an interpretation? *One* king to live and reign and persecute the churches 1260 years! The thing needs no refutation. And that *one* king is meant, I appeal to the natural and obvious meaning of the text and context, as apprehended by every candid, intelligent, and unprejudiced reader.

On the subject of the empire designated here by the fourth beast, I merely remark in passing, that the principal arguments in favour of the *Roman* empire appear to be, that the kingdom of the Messiah seems to be placed in *immediate* succession to it (vs. 9—14, comp. vs. 26, 27); and that the *ten* horns, and the other horn springing up and breaking three of the ten (7: 8), can no where be found in the history of the Macedonian empire, i. e. of Alexander the great and his successors. But Bertholdt and Rosenmueller think that they plainly and undoubtedly find the correspondents to these symbols, in the ten kings of Egypt and Syria, who had possession of Palestine before the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, viz., Antigonus, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Ptolemy Lagi, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Ptolemy Euergetes, Ptolemy Philopator, Ptolemy Epiphanes, Ptolemy Philometer, Antiochus Magnus, and Seleucus Philopator. That these Egyptian and Syrian kings did in fact hold Palestine in their possession, seems to be plainly testified by Justin (Lib. xv.), and others. That such empires or kings as have relation to Palestine or the Jewish people, are the usual and special object of prophetic designation, nay in a measure the *exclusive* objects of it, there can be no rational ground of doubt. The fact lies upon the face of the sacred record.

Then as to the apparent *proximity* of the Messianic dominion to that of the fourth beast, it may be truly said, that nothing is more common than for the prophets, when threatening evil immediately or at some future period to the Jews, to annex to their threatenings a disclosure of Messianic peace and prosperity. So Isaiah continually joins the latter day of glory in close contact, (so far as his words are concerned), with deliverance from the Babylonish exile; Joel unites the deliverance of the plague of the locusts in his time, with the description of Messianic plenty and peace. The prophets seem every where to overlook all intervals of time, which must exist between the Messianic period and the period of events joyful or sorrowful, which constitute the main subject-matter of their predictions. The annexing of a Messianic prediction, then, to a description

of the fourth beast (Dan. 7: 23—27), cannot be considered as sufficient or satisfactory evidence that the Roman empire is designated by this beast.

On the other hand, inasmuch as the dominion of the fourth beast seems to be described as coming to an *end* before the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom (v. 26), it is difficult to make this agree with the history of the Roman empire, which lasted, at least in its great eastern branch, for more than 1000 years after the introduction of Christianity.

I regard with much respect and approbation the efforts and talents which Hengstenberg and Havernick have exhibited, in endeavouring to show that the fourth beast designates the Roman empire, and especially the antichristian power of that empire. But my main difficulty in acceding to their views, and those of others who defend the same exegesis, lies in this, viz., that a comparison of Dan. 7: 7, 8 with 8: 9—12. 11: 28, 30—36, 41—45, and 12: 10, 11, seems almost of necessity to compel one who follows the simple leading of exegesis without any reference to particular schemes of interpretation, to believe, that the same king is described in all these passages. The characteristics of the oppressor are the same; “the time and times and half a time” is the same; the succession of a Messianic time (if chap. xii, 1—3 be interpreted as relating to the time of the Messiah) is the same; in a word, the descriptions tally with so much exactness, that it is difficult to make them speak a different language.

But I must return from this digression. It matters not to my present purpose, which of these schemes of interpretation is true. Some *one particular* persecutor and oppressor seems as plainly to be designated in one of these places as in the other; and since in chapters viii. xi. and xii., as is now generally admitted by the best interpreters, Antiochus Epiphanes is designated, so it would seem not to be improbable, or rather, it would seem nearly certain, that an *individual* is designated in chap. vii. 24, 25. If so, then is it clear, that “a time and times and the dividing of times” is to be *literally* understood, and not as meaning 1260 years.

We come now to a different class of texts, and the only ones which can afford any analogy to justify the usual method of construing the designations of time in the Apocalypse, i. e. one day as meaning a year.

In Dan. 9: 24 seq. it is said : *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and the prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy. Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks; the street shall be built again, and the wall even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off . . . and he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease.*

It would occupy pages even to enumerate the volumes which have been written upon this deeply interesting prophecy. But this would be aside from my present object; which is neither to explain nor vindicate its Messianic design. I take this for granted at present, for the sake of pursuing without any hindrance the consideration of *the manner in which time is here designated*. Even the anti-messianic interpreters acknowledge, that a *day* here stands for a *year*, or rather, that the word here rendered *weeks* (שבועים) signifies *sevens* of years.

But is this word שבועים rightly interpreted here, when it is rendered *weeks*? I apprehend not. That the word may mean *weeks* by virtue of meaning a *hebdomade* (ἑβδομάς) of *days*, there can be no doubt. In this manner we find it employed in Gen. 29: 27, 28. שבעה זאת, *her week*, i. e. probably the seven wedding-days; comp. Judg. 14: 32. So in Lev. 12: 5, שבועים, *two weeks*. These are all the instances of the masculine form of this word that occur in the Heb. Scriptures, excepting those in the book of Daniel, which will be noticed in the sequel.

The feminine plural שבועות occurs nine times, mostly in the Pentateuch, and means *sevens of days*, i. e. *weeks*.

But in Dan. 9: 24—27 the masculine form of this word occurs six times, four of these being of the *plural* form שבועים; which occurs no where else, excepting twice in this same writer, chap. 10: 2, 3. The use of the word in this form is therefore a peculiarity in the style of this author.

As to the *form* itself, it may be remarked, that it was in all probability adopted, because, in the *first* instance in which it is employed, it stands coupled with a word of similar form and sound, viz., שבועים, *seventy*. Once introduced, it was con-

tinued by the writer through the paragraph which he had begun, and which is most closely connected in its contents. That the principle of *homophony* has occasional influence on the forms of words which Hebrew writers adopt, is a well known fact. But independently of this, we know from Gen. 29: 27, 28, that the word is masculine in the singular; e. g. שְׁבַע זֶהָ. Now Daniel might employ the masculine form in the plural, because it was the less common and vulgar one, and would excite the more notice in a reader of his book.

Why the plural both of the masculine and feminine forms retains the *Qamets* in the first syllables unchanged, neither Gesenius nor any of the lexicographers that I have consulted, have told us. Probably it was in order to distinguish the word from שְׁבָעוֹת, *oaths*.

The main question now recurs: Did Daniel mean to designate *hebdomades of years*, or of *days*, by the word שְׁבָעִים as here employed?

Years, must be the answer, I doubt not. When he employs the word in the sense of *days*, he puts the word *days* after it in the way of explanation. Thus he does twice in 10: 2, 3, שְׁבָעִים יָמִים. This is as much as to say, that he had before used שְׁבָעִים as standing for *heptades of years*; but now, lest the reader should still understand the word in the same sense, he adds an expegetical word which leaves no room for doubt.

In its nature, then, שְׁבַע or שְׁבָעִים designates only *heptade* or *heptades*; and whether these are *sevens of years*, or *sevens of days*, must be determined by the context and the nature of the case.

That *years* are meant in Dan. 9: 24—27, seems clear, moreover, by looking back to the first part of the chapter. There Daniel is related to have been pondering and praying over the seventy *years* of the Babylonish exile, as predicted by Jeremiah. At the close of this, an angel was sent to announce to him joyful tidings of deliverance. The *seventy heptades*, then, would seem of course to mean seventy heptades of years, because of the seventy preceding *years* with which it is compared by way of implication.

I fully concede the point, then, that here is a case in which seventy heptades stands for 490 *years*. But how very different this case is from any designation of time in the Apocalypse, must strike every attentive reader. It is true, that *heptades* may mean, *heptades of years* or of *days*. In Dan. 10: 2, 3, it is ex-

plained as meaning *heptades of days* ; here the connection, the implied comparison, in a word the whole nature of the case, requires *heptades of years* to be understood.

How was it possible, moreover, that all the events predicted in Dan. 9 : 24—27 should take place in seventy heptades of weeks, i. e. in 490 days ?

In a case now so unlike any of those in the Apocalypse, is it not matter of surprise to find Mede, Faber, and others contending so earnestly for construing one *day* in the Revelation as meaning a *year*, because this passage in Daniel has the sense which is above conceded ? The cases are so dissimilar, that it cannot well be considered as proper to argue from the one to the other.

We come then, after examining all the designations of time in Daniel, to the only case which seems capable of being drawn in as a precedent from the Old Testament prophecies. This is in Ezek. 4 : 4—6.

In this passage the prophet is directed first to lie upon his left side 390 days, and bear the iniquity of the house of Israel ; and then to lie on his right side forty days, and bear the iniquity of the house of Judah. “ See,” said Jehovah further to him, “ *I have appointed thee EACH DAY FOR A YEAR.*”

If I rightly understand the meaning of this direction to the prophet, it is in substance this, viz., that for 390 days in succession he should every day place himself in a recumbent posture upon his left side, and put upon himself some heavy burden ; and this action was intended to be a symbol of that burden, which would be laid upon the house of Israel on account of their sins. Each *day* that Ezekiel did this, was designed to be a symbol of a *year's* punishment to be inflicted on them. In like manner he was instructed to do, during 40 days, on account of the house of Judah ; excepting merely, that the posture of the prophet was to be changed from the left to the right side.

We are not to suppose, at least I cannot think the supposition at all probable, that Ezekiel was commanded to lie, during the *whole* of the 390 days, on his left side ; nor during the *whole* of the forty days, on his right side. Enough for all the purposes of symbol, that he assumed the positions in question for any length of time, however brief, during the respective days which are designated.

This, however, is not a matter of interest to our present inquiry. Our question now is, how such a designation of time,

in this peculiar case—a case of merely *symbolic* action—should ever have passed into a general principle or law among many commentators on the prophecies, which, if we are to credit their assertions, regulates almost all the various periods of time that are named in the predictions contained in the book of Daniel, and in the Apocalypse. And to this question, I confess myself unable to give a satisfactory answer. Nearly certain I am, however, that the considerate inquirer of the present day will feel some serious difficulty in regard to this method of interpreting designations of time in the prophets; especially will he feel this, if he search the prophetic Scriptures for himself. It is embarrassing, moreover, that the difficulty in question is one, which none of the commentators who adopt this rule of interpretation, at least none whom it has been my fortune to consult, appear to remove in a satisfactory manner.

I remark in the first place, with regard to this alleged rule or principle, that there is no close and proper analogy between the case in Ezek. iv. and other cases in general, in Daniel and in the Apocalypse, which are made to conform to it. In Ezekiel, the whole transaction was mere *symbol*; and so far was it from being obvious or a matter of course, that Ezekiel should understand a *day* as being the representative of a year, that an *express* declaration of this, on the part of Jehovah, was deemed necessary, in order that the prophet and his countrymen might understand the true nature of the whole transaction. In this case, also, there was a most evident propriety and necessity of making a *short* period, viz. one day, the representative (if I may so call it) of a comparatively long period, viz. one year; for the prophet's life would not have sufficed to continue the exhibition of the symbol, for as long a time as the punishment of the house of Israel and of Judah was to continue.

But how can a simple annunciation or designation of a future period by *words* (instead of actions), compare with this? For example; in Dan. 12:7, the angel interpreter, in answer to the question: How long shall it be to the end of the wonderful things predicted respecting Antiochus? says: *Until a time and times and an half*, i. e. according to the laws of Chaldee and Hebrew idiom, for a year, two years, and half a year, or (in other words) *three years and a half*. Here is no symbolic action. Here no explanation is added. Here is no suggestion that years are or can be meant. On the contrary; as it is natural to understand what the angel says, as having reference to the things

which he had just been predicting, (and these refer principally to Antiochus Epiphanes); so it would seem to be doing violence to the nature of things to make the supposition, that Antiochus was to live and persecute the Jews for 1260 years. The only escape from our conclusion seems to be, to deny that Daniel has reference to an *individual* king, and to maintain that it must be applied to a *succession* of kings. But here again the way appears to be hedged up; for, (1) The context shews, beyond reasonable contradiction, that an *individual* king, and not a succession of kings, is meant to be designated by the prophet. (2) If it is applied to a succession of kings, it must mean, as nearly all will agree, either the race of Syrian kings (of whom Antiochus Epiphanes was one), or else a succession of Roman emperors or kings. But in neither of these two cases will facts support the construction that must be given. The race of Syrian kings lasted but a short time, viz. about 258 years (Jahn's Heb. Comm. § 108. p. 338); none of them were the active persecutors of the Jews, at least not successful ones, except Antiochus Epiphanes; and few of them, indeed, had dominion over the Jews. The succession of Roman emperors, if we count them before the division of the empire, was very far short of 1260 years; and even if we begin with Julius Caesar, and continue the succession down in the eastern branch of the empire, we must close with Constantine 12th, A. D. 1059, i. e. about the middle of the eleventh century; (if the reckoning of Dr. Priestley may be relied on, in Priestley's Biog. Chart. Phil. 1803). Here then we shall fall almost a century short of the period required. But what would be still more to my purpose, is, that the assumption must be made, in order to carry through the exegesis in question and apply it to the Roman power, that all, or at least the greater part, of these emperors or kings were *persecutors* of the church. Are we then to assume, that Constantine the Great, and most of his successors, were *persecutors* of the church? not to speak of many heathen emperors who preceded Constantine, and who were no persecutors. An interpretation which makes such demands as this upon us, and thus sacrifices palpable historical facts, should not be received to patronage by those, who are inquiring more after the simple meaning of the Scriptures, than after what may be adduced in support of any preconceived and favourite theory respecting the prophecies.

To the *civil* power then, either of Syria or of Rome, the 1260

years contended for in Dan. 12: 7, cannot be applied. This is so obviously true, that most or all of those who construe the periods in Daniel and John as all meaning years, have felt constrained to resort to the supposition of a *spiritual* and *ecclesiastical* anti-Christian power, who should persecute the saints during so long a period. But to say nothing at present of the meaning of the Apocalypse, I cannot find any other power symbolized in Daniel, but that of an impious, blasphemous, oppressive, persecuting *civil* power. He is surely such a power, who is described in the eleventh chapter of the book of Daniel; to which Dan. 12: 7 has an undoubted reference. Even if a persecuting *spiritual* dominion be intended, (as is so strongly contended for by most of the later English expositors), how can 1260 years of desolation and persecution be made out? Did the Romish church, after A. D. 603 or 615, continually preserve the attitude of *persecution*? If so, who were the objects of this persecution during a great part of the *dark ages*? So completely triumphant was spiritual domination at Rome, during much of this period, that no opposition shewed its head; and consequently no persecution was carried on. To make out a *continuous* period of 1260 years of active and desolating persecution—is what never has been done; and what indeed from the very nature of the case, never can happen among the human race. Yet if this be not made out, the prophecy of Daniel will not tally with it.

Will it be said, that the time is yet future when all this is to happen? The future gives no better pledge than the past, for its possibility. Indeed, the day of glory is too near to render the case a supposeable one. Rome nods to her fall. The darkness is passing away, and the Sun of Righteousness arising, with healing in his beams.

One more remark on this subject of the *spiritual* empire of Rome, as designated in the book of Daniel, and I have done. If it be indeed so, then all analogy between this empire and the other three, described in chap. vii. is at once taken away. There the power is confessedly and plainly *civil*. How can it be considered as *ecclesiastical* here, without any hint of the writer that we are to interpret his words, in this case, so differently from what we do in all other cases which stand by the side of it?

We must no more admit impossibilities or improbabilities of an *exegetical* nature into our scheme of interpreting prophecy,
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than into our hermeneutics respecting any other portion of the Scriptures.

We have seen the impossibility of carrying through the system of making each day, as named in prophecy, the representative of a year. It presupposes the fact, that one king is to live and persecute the church for 1260 years ; or at any rate, that a succession of Syrian or Roman monarchs or ecclesiastics, were to be persecutors during such a period. None of all these things were, or can be, true. Nor can we see any reason whatever, why the prophet, in announcing the time of future events, if he meant to announce it in a definite way, should not announce it directly and plainly, with the full designation of time, instead of using *one day* as the representative of a *year*. If you say, it was the wish of the prophets to cast a kind of veil over the periods which they name, and therefore they have chosen this representative method of designating time ; the reply is, that if one day plainly stands for a year, no more veil is thus cast over the designations of time, than if the full period were plainly and directly announced.

In short, while the reason is perfectly palpable, in the case mentioned in Ezek. 4: 4—6, why one day should stand for a year, because the exhibition of a symbol each day was a matter of *personal labour and suffering* to the prophet ; yet no reason whatever has been given so far as I know, and no good reason (I believe) can be given, why in other cases which are simple announcements with regard to the future, *one day* should be made the representative of a year. In some cases, we certainly know that such a rule of interpretation would be absolutely preposterous, and make prediction directly at variance with facts. When Jeremiah prophesied that the Babylonish captivity should continue 70 years, can this mean 70 years of which each day is the representative of a year, i. e. 25,200 years ? Truly a long—long captivity ! And when Satan is to be bound, and the church to have rest 1000 years, does this mean 360,000 years ? I could add here that my *wishes* would side with this last interpretation ; but how can my understanding be satisfied that the apostle means to designate such a period ?

In a word, if the prophets in any particular case where they mention days or years, meant that each day should represent a year, why have they not intimated this ? In Ezekiel's case, this was deemed necessary, in order that the matter should be

rightly understood. In other cases which differ so widely from this, why was it not equally necessary?

I may further remark on this principle of interpretation, that, important—highly important—as expositors have made it, they are bound to give us some positive reasons why it should be adopted. The burden of proof lies on those who adopt and defend it. They are bound, then, to tell us wherein the analogy consists, between the cases of Ezekiel and other cases in the Scriptures. They are obligated to shew, why they understand the 70 years of the Babylonish captivity *literally*; and the 1000 years of the Millennium *literally*; and the three years of Is. 16: 14, *literally*; and the 65 years of Is. 7: 8, *literally*; and so of many other passages; and yet construe most of the designations of time in Daniel and in the Apocalypse, in the representative method of making one *day* to stand for a whole *year*? We have a right to ask, that the consistency of this exegesis, and its harmony with facts, may in some way or other be pointed out. Until this be done, is not one forced, by the exigencies of the case, to choose a path to walk in different from that in which they direct him to travel?

We have seen, that the great principle by which the designations of time in the Apocalypse are made to speak definitely and with exactness, has a very slender basis for its support, if analogy is to be followed. It is indeed made to rest on a case not by any means of an analogous nature. It cannot be carried through the prophetic declarations of the Bible. In many cases it is abandoned even by its patrons themselves; and if applied to the famous period of 1260 days, it would imply, in some cases, either what is impossible according to the nature of things, or in others, what is in contradiction to well known and palpable facts. We cannot, therefore, admit such a principle, without abandoning the safe and established laws of exegesis.

‘But what, then,’ it will be said, ‘shall we do? Are we, after all, to be set afloat on the boundless ocean of conjecture, as to the time when the greatest and most interesting events will happen? Have the prophets, enlightened by the Spirit of the living God, been unable to foresee and to declare the time when the great events which they predicted should happen? Has God given no intimation to his church, when her season of affliction and darkness shall pass away, and light from heaven beam upon her? Do the oracles of Jehovah speak in doubt and uncertainty, like those at Delphos and at other places?

Believe it who can,' says the objector to the views I have been suggesting, 'for myself I must regard this as a species of skepticism or unbelief. The impostor Mohammed, Antichrist, and the Pope, surely have a certain and definite time assigned them; and the churches are able with certainty to tell, when this time shall be completed.'

All this looks plausible, at first sight. But closer attention to the prophetic Scriptures will render it less attractive. Is it true, I ask, that when great events are predicted, yea the greatest that ever took place on this earth, that the time when they shall happen is always, or even generally, revealed in a specific and definite manner? Surely not. The greatest of all events that have ever happened, the incarnation and suffering of the Son of God; things in which the ancient as well as the later churches had the deepest interest;—these were *usually* announced without any specific designation of time. *In the latter day, in the last time, hereafter, in that day, in those days,* are the well known and usual phrases which the holy prophets have employed in their predictions respecting the promised Messiah. Often they omit even these. If there be any exception to the remarks now made, it is one passage, and one only, in the book of Daniel; I mean the celebrated passage respecting the 70 weeks in Dan. 9: 24—27. Even this has been, and still is, a subject of dispute and difficulty among the most learned critics.

Peter takes a view of the subject, like that just presented. He tells us that the prophets themselves "enquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come to us, searching what, or *what manner of time*, the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand of the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow." The *precise time*, then, these prophets did not know. It was only revealed to them, as Peter goes on to declare, that *in a future age*, this development should be made. And this accords with what I have already stated.

Most of the great events that concerned the Jewish nation, are predicted without any specific designations of time. Did the Saviour declare the exact time when Jerusalem would be destroyed, and Judea laid waste? So far from this, that he assures his inquiring and solicitous disciples, that "the day and hour are known to no man; no, not even to the angels;" and one Evangelist (Mark, in 13: 32) tells us that he said, 'not even

the Son himself knew this day.' Yet what could be a matter apparently of deeper interest to the disciples and to the Jews, than the knowledge of this period?

Why should it be assumed as *strange*, then, that the precise period of the Man of Sin, of the Beast, and of the false Prophet, are not definitively limited? Have we not read the question that the anxious disciples put to the risen Saviour, as he was about to ascend to glory? "Lord," said they, "wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom again to Israel?" And what was the answer? One which I would were better remembered by all who call on the name of the Lord Jesus: *It is not for you to know the TIMES or the SEASONS, WHICH THE FATHER HATH PUT IN HIS OWN POWER.* How often, while I have been reading the speculations of ingenious writers, in regard to the times and seasons supposed to be limited by the Apocalypse, have I felt compelled to exclaim: When, O when, will these words of Jesus to his disciples be believed!

It may then be a part of the discipline of the churches now, as it was of the apostles themselves, that the times and seasons which they would fain know, are still reserved, as they then were, in the power of the Father. All this may be; yea, and for wise and important ends too, and therefore no grounds of complaint, nor even of wonder, in reality exist. The questions that I have stated above, and which have given me occasion to say these things, have been often put, and urged with great eloquence and power; but after all they are but declamation. The Bible is filled with the history of facts, which are of the same nature as the very things at which these questions express so much wonder and astonishment. And while this is the case, it does not concern us to be moved, in the formation of our opinions, by any or all of such suggestions.

But let us now take leave of all the introductory and preparatory matter which has thus far occupied us, and advance to a nearer examination of the question immediately before us, which has respect to THE TIMES DESIGNATED IN THE APOCALYPSE.

The great periods in the prophecies of Daniel and those of the Apocalypse that are modelled after them, which are a matter of the deepest interest to us, are those of the "time and times and the dividing of time," that is, three years and six months; the forty-two months, which is the same; the 1260 days, which again is only another mode of counting $3\frac{1}{2}$ years; and the 1000 years which have reference to the latter day of the church's

glory on earth. We have then, in reality, only two periods which are matters of special interest to us ; first, that of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, which limits the reign and influence of the beast, the false prophet, and the adversaries of the church ; and secondly, that of the 1000 years, which limits the continuance of the church's highest prosperity.

In order now to come at the real meaning of these most important designations of time in the Apocalypse, let us examine how the matter stands in regard to other and subordinate designations of the like nature, contained in that book. If we first survey these, and learn from them the common *usus loquendi* of the writer, we may then advance with somewhat more of confidence to the consideration of the two most interesting periods which are named in the Revelation.

But before I proceed farther, I desire here distinctly to say to the reader, that I am very far from being insensible to the many difficulties which encompass this long controverted and variously represented subject. I know well, that the popular impression is different from my own ; and that this has been occasioned by writers of much ingenuity, and some of them of a highly respectable measure of learning. In England and in this country, however, it has not been the case, that many writers have engaged in the interpretation of the prophetic books of Daniel and the Revelation, who were or are in high repute for skill in the sacred languages, and especially in exegetical criticism. Not a few have written upon these books, or at least on the Apocalypse, who could not even compare the New Testament diction with the original of the Old Testament. How is it possible, now, that a book invested so entirely with a Hebrew costume as that of the Apocalypse, should be interpreted to any good purpose, without an accurate knowledge of the Hebrew prophets themselves ?

I assume to myself very little, in respect to this knowledge. I have daily mortifying experience how small it is, compared with what it ought to be. But I have studied the original books of prophecy long enough to know, that nothing but a good knowledge of them can avail us in the interpretation of the Revelation. I have studied prophecy in the Old and New Testaments long enough to doubt of the " Sacred Calendars" of Prophecy, which are now so often proffered to the English and American public. I can find support for them neither in the principles of philology, nor in the facts of history ; and why should we trust to imagination and conjecture ?

The reader will apologize for me, I hope, when I seem to speak in the way of direct assertion, where *matter of opinion* might be otherwise expressed. I desire to say here, once for all, that in all cases, whether in the preceding or subsequent part of this essay, I mean no more by my declarations of this nature, than that such and such are my views. I offer, indeed, my whole essay to the public, with more diffidence than they may be disposed to give me credit for. I offer it as a matter of thought, examination, and discussion on their part; not as a thing already made out and finished. I know too well the difficulties that attend it, to assume intentionally such a position.

Having made these explanations of my language, and of the views which I cherish, I invite my readers to consider the whole matter with the most serious attention. It is surely worthy of it. I would hope too, that whatever errors I have committed, they may be pointed out. If this is done in an exegetical manner, without giving the reins to imagination and discolouring historical facts; if it be done with good temper, without denunciation, and with the apparent love of truth and desire to know it; I shall rejoice to be convicted of error; and I promise to be among the first who will acknowledge it. All that is done in a different way, and with another spirit, my readers will not in general hold me bound to notice. As the discussion is in a manner novel among us, it will not be expected that all truth should at once be elicited. Let us be satisfied, if by 'the running to and fro of many, knowledge is finally increased.' Why should we demand a departure, in this case, from all the analogies of the past?

I proceed, then, after this explicit avowal of my feelings and intentions, to the examination of the designations of time contained in the Apocalypse.

The first intimation respecting time occurs at the very commencement of the book: "The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to him, to shew to his servants *what must SHORTLY come to pass*, ἃ δεῖ γένεσθαι ἐν τάχει." In 22:6 of the same book, just at its close, the same thing is repeated, in the assurance that "the Lord God of the spirits of the prophets has sent his angel to shew to his servants *what will SPEEDILY happen*, ἃ δεῖ γένεσθαι ἐν τάχει." In 22:7 it is said, in reference to the very same thing: "Behold, I come *quickly*, *τάχυν*;" and in 22:20, the same is again said.

Besides these examples of this phraseology, all of which have reference to the accomplishment of those things contained in the

Apocalypse, there are examples of it in some of the epistles directed to the seven churches in Asia; viz., in 2:5, to the churches of Ephesus, in the way of commination; in 2:16, to the churches at Pergamos, in the same way; in 3:11, to the churches at Philadelphia, in the way of encouragement to persevere in a Christian course; in 22:12, the same is said to the churches in general, with reference to the reward which the Saviour will give; and finally, in 11:14 the same expression is applied to the coming of the second woe, in the final destruction of the spiritual Sodom mentioned in the same chapter.

In regard to all this latter class of examples, nothing more is necessary to be said, than that the *coming quickly* must mean, that no considerable space of time would elapse before Christ would come in the manner declared, i. e. he would interpose in order to punish the enemies of the church, or apostatizing Christians, and to reward his faithful followers, after a short period, or in a little while. The very nature of the case and of the expression, renders the designation of time here indefinite. All that can be concluded from it is, an assurance, not as to the *exact time when*, but as to the fact that the season will not be protracted, in which the great Head of the Church would specially interpose for purposes of judgment or of mercy.

Analogous to these cases are those in chap. 1:1. 22:6, 20, which relate to the fulfilment of the predictions contained in the book. These expressions have, indeed, been made by many critics, the point on which the exegesis of the whole book must turn. Applying them to the whole contents of the book, they have drawn the conclusion, that *all* which is predicted in the book was to happen speedily, ἐν τάχει, τάχυν; and have thence drawn the conclusion, that the writer himself expected the final coming of Christ and the end of the world, during the generation in which he lived. These are weighty conclusions indeed from circumstances so small; and they ought to be well supported by other considerations, in order to render them probable.

On the other hand, another class of critics, who maintain that the Apocalypse contains a symbolic picture of the state and condition of the church down to the end of the world, construe ἐν τάχει and τάχυν as merely denoting the *certainty* of the events predicted, but not the time when the fulfilment would take place. So Eichhorn and Heinrichs; who appeal, in support of this interpretation, to such passages as are contained in Is. 26:20.

54: 8. Mal. 3: 1, 2. Hag. 2: 6. Is. 10: 22, 23. Deut. 32: 35. Is. 5: 26. Zeph. 1: 14; none of which, in my apprehension, justify the gloss which they put upon ἐν τάχει in the Apocalypse.

I do not see any need of doing violence to philology on the one hand, or of going over to the extravagant supposition on the other, that the writer of the Apocalypse expected the world to come to an end during the generation in which he lived. When he says that what is written in his book will *take place* (γενέσθαι) ἐν τάχει, τάχυν, i. e. speedily; and when he says once and again (1: 3. 22: 10), that *the time is near*, καιρὸς ἐγγύς; what need of interpreting him in a manner different from that in which the whole tenor of his book obviously demands that he should be understood? If he wrote his book, (as I must believe he did), just before the destruction of Jerusalem and the devastation of Judea, then might he well say, that the time was near in which the things contained in it would take place, that is, when the fulfilment of the things predicted would *commence*. Speedily indeed did the invasion of Judea by the Roman army take place; and speedily were at least the predictions of the first half of the book carried into execution. More than this we cannot rationally suppose the writer ever to have meant. What! Has he not introduced into his book periods of 1260 days, be these more or less; and then a period of 1000 years; and then an additional period at the close of his august drama? All this, moreover, constitutes an essential part of his book and of his plan. Are we then to be told, that he expected the fulfilment of all this in *one generation*? The thing is incredible; and if it did not come from writers otherwise grave and learned and sensible, it would hardly fall short of being ridiculous. Whoever wrote the Apocalypse, be it John the Evangelist or John the Presbyter, he had sufficient understanding to know, that periods such as have been just named were not all to elapse during one generation of men. The exegesis in question carries its own condemnation upon the face of it. The writer has shewn, by the matter of his book, that he never expected to be construed as he has been by some in modern times, so as to make him little less than a visionary or a self-contradicting enthusiast.

Enough, that the fulfilment of the Apocalypse was *speedily to commence*, and go regularly forward, until the whole should be completed. We want, in this way of interpretation, neither

the strained philology of Eichhorn and Heinrichs; nor the latitudinarian construction of those, who make the apostles enthusiastic visionaries, expecting the end of the world during the generation in which they lived.

I have only one more remark to make on this topic. This is, that in whatever way we construe *ἐν τάχει*, *τάχυν*, or *ὁ καιρὸς ἔγγυς*, at any rate these expressions contain no specific and definite limitation of time. This is important to the purpose on account of which the present investigation was instituted.

In 2: 10 it is said to the church at Smyrna: "The devil will cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall be afflicted *ten days*." Here nearly all commentators are united in the opinion, that only a short and indefinite period of time is meant to be designated. The ground of this interpretation is, the nature of the case, and the common usage of such expressions for a small but undefined space of time. For example; 1 Sam. 25: 38, "And it came to pass about ten days after, that the Lord smote Nabal that he died." Neh. 5: 18, "Now that which was prepared for me . . . was once in ten days all sorts of wine." Jer. 42: 7, "After ten days the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah." Dan. 1: 12, 14, "prove thy servants . . . ten days, and let them give us pulse to eat, and water to drink . . . So he consented to them in this matter, and proved them ten days." Acts 25: 6, "And when he had tarried among them more than ten days, he went down to Caesarea."

In nearly all these cases, it is very plain that ten days is nothing more than a convenient phraseology, in order to express a short but not strictly defined time. The mind naturally cleaves to definite expressions; and in consequence of this, in numerous instances we make use of them, when we do not mean to be literally and strictly understood.*

In Rev. 3: 10 Christ says to the church at Philadelphia: "I will keep thee in the *hour of trial*, which is coming upon all the land." Hour of trial means *season of trial*; and this, from the very nature of the case and of the expression, contains no specific limitation of time.

In chap. vi. the martyrs are represented as making supplication to God, that he would listen to avenge the wrongs done to his church. In answer to this, white robes were given them, and "it was said to them, that they should wait *yet for a*

* E. g. the Latin *sexcenties*, for *numberless times*.

time (ἔτι χρόνον)," until their brethren who were also to be slain, should be completed, i. e. until the measure of wickedness on the part of persecutors should be fully consummated, and vengeance would no longer delay. Here again the expression from its own nature is indefinite; and even if it were not, the *terminus a quo* is not given, from which it should be computed.

In 8: 1 it is said, "there was silence in heaven for *half an hour*." But as this refers merely to what took place in the development of the vision itself, and not to any fulfilment of it by events on earth, it does not concern our present purpose. If it did, however, it is plainly one of those cases in which a definite is employed for an *indefinite* mode of expression. *A short space of time* is evidently the meaning.

In 9: 5, 10, the power of the locusts, who came up under Apollyon from the great abyss, is limited to *five months*. Here then is a designation of time which has, I believe, hitherto baffled all the efforts of *historical* commentators upon the Apocalypse. If the subject were not too serious, one might be tempted to smile at the exegesis of bishop Newton here. With him, the locusts are the Saracens under their Mohammedan leaders. But how is it that these persecutors are to have power only for *five months*, when their cruel dominion over the east has actually lasted some 1200 years? "If," says the bishop, "we take five months for common months, then, as the natural locusts live and do hurt only in the five summer months, so the Saracens in the five summer months, too, made their excursions, and retreated again in the winter;" p. 486, edit. 1832. And so, I may add, do all other nations practise, who make war; and of course, if this be the meaning of the prophecy, it will apply to them as well as to the Saracens. But besides this, where, I ask, is there any *limitation* of time? If the prophecy means, that the Saracens shall make war on the church for the five summer months, and means no more, then when is to be the *end* of this war; and where, after all, is there any *limit* of the duration of this awful scourge?

The bishop himself felt the incongruity of such an interpretation; and so he has resorted to other methods of explanation. He has made the supposition, that the five months may be taken in the *representative* way of one day for a year, as usual, and so amount to 150 years. Here he seeks for events to correspond. Again, inasmuch as five months are twice mentioned, he makes the supposition that twice 150 years, that is, 300

years may be meant ; and here also he finds events which correspond. What a wonderful power, one is ready to exclaim, either in the meaning of the prophecy, or in its interpreter ! Whether it designates five simple and literal months, or 150 years, or 300 years, all—all has its full and complete accomplishment ! And so, I might add, would almost any other imaginable number of periods find their accomplishment, if the same way of interpreting historical facts in relation to them might be adopted.

But enough of such interpretations of the five months. Search we now to the bottom of this matter, we find that the period in which locusts devour in the East, is from May until the last part of September, i. e. about five months. The writer who employs these animals as symbols adapted to his purpose, has conformed in his description to the nature and habits of the animals chosen as symbols. Should we not accuse him of *incongruity*, if he had not so done ? What then is the instruction which he conveys by the use of these symbols ? Simply this, viz., that the way would be prepared for the final catastrophe of the Jewish state and commonwealth, by severe although not exterminating judgments of heaven. The locusts had power to torment men, but not to *destroy* them. In choosing the Saracens as the antitype of the locusts, no more flagrant error could have been committed ; for they are a people, who have devastated by fire and sword beyond all others that have made their appearance in western Asia and eastern Europe.

On the whole, nothing can be plainer than that, as the *five months* are particularized only in reference to the season in which the locust usually devours, so they cannot be interpreted as marking the *definite* length of time in which the enemies of God and the church should be afflicted, or (if it must thus be construed) should afflict others.

In 9: 15, the four destroying angels by the great river Euphrates, are said to be prepared to do their work “ for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year.” That is, the definite time for them to exercise their destructive power, is fixed in the counsels of heaven ; the matter is decreed, and will certainly take place. But in this case, no one will imagine that the time is *literally* to be understood, as one year, one month, one day, and one hour only. The designation, from the very nature of its terms and the manner and the connection in which they are employed, can be interpreted only in an indefinite manner, so

far as it respects us ; although it means, that the whole matter is *definitely* settled in the counsels of heaven. In the counsels of heaven, indeed, all is and must be definitely fixed and limited ; and it is this, and this only, which the writer means to say.

In 10 : 6, the angel who stands by the sea, is represented as lifting his hand toward heaven, and swearing that *no longer delay shall be made* (*χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται*), in respect to the consummation of the destruction which awaited the spiritual Sodom. The nature of the expression itself here points us to no definite limitation. *Χρόνος* is plainly used in the generic sense of *delay*.

In Rev. 11 : 9, the dead bodies of the two faithful witnesses and martyrs that had been slain, are represented as lying unburied and exposed to the gaze of the multitude, *for three days and a half*. Does the writer mean three years and a half, or literally three days and a half, or merely a *short period* ?

Not the first. How could corpses unburied continue for the space of three years and six months to be a public spectacle, when they would putrify and dissolve in the course of a few days, or at most in a few weeks, so that no resurrection, such as is described in the sequel, could properly be predicated of them ?

To suppose that an exact period is meant, of just three and a half literal days, in the second place, seems to be aside from the design of the writer in such a composition as the Apocalypse, where all is symbol and picture, not historical narration. *A short period*, then, would seem to be the natural, or (I might almost say in reference to the nature of the composition) the necessary meaning. So the considerate and sagacious Vitringa, who is rarely found halting in matters where judgment and exegetical tact are needed : “*Brevissimum hujus gravissimae afflictionis esset tempus ; quod Spiritus mysticè hic designat per triduum et medium diei. Tempus demonstratur breve, contradistinctum longiori ; eaque fere proportionem ad id relatum, qualis proportio est tridui et semessis ad triennium et semestre.*” And then he adds, with his accustomed good sense : “*Nec tamen haec proportio hic ad mathematicae disciplinae canones exigenda est. . . . Tantum nobis constat, fore tempus certum quidem et breve, [he means the 3½ days], a Deo definitum, in quo persecutio longior triennii et semestris [he means the three years and six months mentioned in the preceding context, vs. 2, 3] suum veluti acciperet complementum.*” Vitringa in Apoc., in loco.

So Vitringa, who, as usual, commends himself to the understanding and judgment of intelligent and sober interpreters. But not so Mede, Faber, and many others. With them, the three days and a half are in sober earnest $3\frac{1}{2}$ full years; and this, because, as they aver, the events which are predicted as taking place, during the exposure of the corpses of the three witnesses, are of such a nature that they could not happen in a literal $3\frac{1}{2}$ days. These events as stated by the writer are, that "the nations who dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them [the slain witnesses], and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another, because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth." How, it is asked, and in a tone which implies that no satisfactory answer can be given, how could *all* nations have intelligence of the death of these witnesses, and institute feasts on the occasion, and exchange presents, within the period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ days?

This, I confess, would have been a difficult matter in those days, when roads were so poor and travelling so slow, if it was indeed to be accomplished in the exact literal sense. But two things are to be remarked here, viz., (1) The writer does not say that *all* nations did this, but only "those that dwelt on the face of the earth," i. e. the inhabitants of the land, viz., the land of Palestine, $\Upsilon \epsilon \rho \upsilon \sigma \alpha \mu$, ἐν τῇς γῆς. "Incolas terrae," says Vitringa, "i. e. subditos imperii adversarii." (2) The writer himself explains his own meaning in a subsequent phrase: "because these two prophets tormented them that dwell upon the earth." Now if the two witnesses preached to the *whole* world, and thus tormented the consciences of the followers of the beast in *every* part of the globe, then it would seem necessary to suppose that all the world were to share in the joy which their death occasioned; but if their preaching was limited to a small circle, yea to the holy city itself, the spiritual Sodom, (as vs. 3, 4, 8 somewhat plainly represent it to be), then *the rejoicing is co-extensive with their testimony*; and that is all which the writer says, or means to imply.

Let the reader only call to mind, that in the preceding context (v. 2), the holy city is represented as filled with *Gentiles*, i. e. foreign nations, and as trodden down by them. Hence the holy seer might well say, as he does in v. 9, "they of the people, [i. e. of the $\Upsilon \epsilon \rho \upsilon \sigma \alpha \mu$, τὰ ἔθνη] and kindreds and tongues and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and a half." In other words: Jews and heathen, who are the enemies of God

and his Christ, unite as Herod and Pontius Pilate did, to crush the cause of Christian piety, and rejoice when there is a prospect that the work will be completed.

Thus much for the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days, of Rev. 11 : 9. I add only, that several reasons may be given, why this period is here made *the representative of a short period*, rather than three days simply, as is more usual. The writer had just said of the witnesses, that "they should have power to shut the heaven that it rain not," viz., to do as Elijah did in the time of Ahab, when the heaven was shut, and it rained not for the space of three years and six months ; which was effected by his prayers, James 5 : 17. But as it was incongruous with the nature of dead bodies, that they should remain unburied for three years and six months, (after which inhumation would be impossible of any thing except the bones), so the writer limits a short period of *days* instead of years, which he makes to be $3\frac{1}{2}$, in accordance with the tenor of the number as mentioned in the usual tradition respecting the time of the drought occasioned by Elijah's prayer. How natural this was, every reader will at once perceive. And this, as it seems to me, is all the mystery that is here to be sought after, in the period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ days, so much controverted, and so often the innocent occasion of singular speculation and visionary calculations.

Thus much for all the periods of time adverted to in the Apocalypse, besides the three and a half years (or its equivalents, 42 months or 1260 days), and the 1000 years ; which after all are the main subject and most interesting part of our inquiry. Let us now come, then, to the more particular examination of these periods. I begin with the *three and a half years*, the same as 42 months or 1260 days.

I may here, for the sake of rendering our way more clear and certain, repeat the remark I have already made, that "a time and times and the dividing of time" means *a year, two years, and a half year*, i. e. three and a half years. This we may say is arithmetically plain and certain ; and therefore it needs no further confirmation.

In what manner, then, is the period of three and a half years employed in the Apocalypse ? Is it to be understood literally or mystically ? That is, must we construe it as designating three and a half years simply and literally considered ; or as designating a considerable period of time, greater or less according to the nature of the subject or events to which it is applied ?

I make this last limitation, because there is evidently good reason for it. A period in most cases, is long or short not absolutely, but *relatively*. A million years is a very short period compared with eternity. A year is a short period compared with the age of the world. But a million years of sin and suffering would be a very long period, in the view of a holy being; and a year of vehement sickness and languishment, is a long period. An hour is a considerable portion of the light of one day; but it is a very small portion of a life of 80 years; and an utterly insignificant one compared with the period of eternity.

Time, then, is always to be *relatively* considered; and plainly it is long or short, according to the relation which we take into view. That may be a long time in relation to a certain event or occurrence, which would be very short in respect to some other event or occurrence.

If these views are correct, (and they seem to be quite plain), then it follows that the sacred writers may call the very same period of time (so far as the *words* which designate it are concerned) long or short, according to the relation in which it is viewed, and the application which is to be made of it; and this, altogether in conformity to the common usage of language. The reader of the prophetic Scriptures who thoroughly recognizes this plain and simple principle, will have much less difficulty in satisfying his mind about some of the periods which are designated by the prophets.

I have one other remark to make, in this place. This is, that numbers,—the same numbers—may sometimes be employed in a *literal* sense, and sometimes in what we may call a *tropical* sense. By tropical sense, however, I intend here only that the meaning given to them is not a literal one, but a *secondary* and *derived* one, which expresses a more generic idea than the first or literal sense expresses. For example: "Thine enemies . . . shall come out before thee one way, and flee before thee *seven* ways," Deut. 28: 5. Again, "Thou shalt go out one way against them [thine enemies], and flee before them seven ways," Deut. 28: 25. "The Lord shall destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea [i. e. the bay of the Red Sea], . . . and shall smite it into *seven* streams, and make men go over dry shod," Is. 11: 15. In like manner it is said: "The barren hath born seven sons; in seven troubles no evil shall touch thee; seven things are an abomination to the Lord;

wisdom hath hewn out her seven pillars ; there are seven abominations in his heart ; give a portion to seven ; we shall raise seven shepherds against him ; the sluggard is wiser in his own conceit, than seven men that can render a reason."

In the Apocalypse almost every thing is digested by sevens. We have seven spirits, seven lamps, seven stars, seven golden candlesticks, seven heads, seven horns, seven eyes, seven angels, seven thunders, seven crowns, seven plagues, seven seals, seven vials, seven mountains, and seven kings. The whole structure of the book is most intimately connected with this arrangement by *sevens*.

Now in all these, and in such cases, whether of the number seven or of other numbers, nothing can be plainer or more certain, than that the meaning of the numbers is not to be considered as strictly literal. The meaning is *tropical* (in the sense already defined), i. e. secondary and not literal. A definite number stands plainly for an indefinite one ; and the mind, which naturally delights in definite modes of expression, chooses this way of expressing itself because it is more pleasant and agreeable. At all events, whatever may be the ground of this choice, the fact itself that numbers are thus employed, will not be questioned.

Still the number *seven* is very often used in its simple and *literal* sense. To prove this would be useless. I merely remark, that originally the division of time into periods of seven days, i. e. of weeks, seems to have afforded the occasion for employing the number seven so often in the manner already stated.

The same thing, for substance, is true of other numbers ; particularly of the numbers 40, 12, 10, 3. We have now to inquire, whether this principle applies to *three and a half*.

First of all then I remark, that $3\frac{1}{2}$ is the half of the sacred or mystical number *seven* ; and being such, it may very naturally be employed in the same tropical manner as the number seven, although (of course) it designates, when applied to *time*, a shorter *relative* period than that number would mark.

Secondly, there are somewhat plain traces of such a use of $3\frac{1}{2}$ by the sacred writers. For example : "Elijah . . . prayed earnestly that it might not rain, and it rained not on the earth by the space of three years and six months ;" James 5 : 17. "Many widows were in Israel, in the days of Elijah, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months ;" Luke 4 : 25. These passages shew, that it was common among the Jews to

speak of the drought and famine in Elijah's time, as having continued for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. Yet in 1 Kings 17th chapter, where the occurrence in question is related, the time of the famine is not limited at all; the prophet says merely, "There shall not be dew nor rain these years," 1 Kings 17:1. In 1 Kings 18:1, it is again said, that "after *many* days, the word of the Lord came to Elijah in the *third* year, saying: Go shew thyself unto Ahab; for I will send rain upon the earth." This must in all probability have been near the close of the third year of the famine; and from this we may gather, that the actual time of the famine may have been somewhat over three years, before the rain came to renew the face of the earth. It is quite plain that this same period is represented in the New Testament, e. g. in the passages above quoted, as consisting of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Traces of the like or rather of the same usage, are very manifest in the Rabbinic writings. Thus: "Adrian besieged Bithur [the capital of the Jewish impostor Bar Cochab] three years and a half;" Eccha, R. II. 2. "God said [Is. 55:6]: Seek ye the Lord while he is to be found. This predicted the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years before the destruction of Jerusalem; Eccha, Pref. f. 40. 4. "He [Nebuchadnezzar] sent Nebuzaradan to lay waste Jerusalem; which he did for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years;" Eccha IV. 12. "The punishment in hell of the antediluvians, of the Egyptians, of Gog, and of the wicked [in general], is twelve months; but the punishment of Nebuchadnezzar and Vespasian is $3\frac{1}{2}$ years;" Eccha I. 12. "Three years and a half did Vespasian besiege Jerusalem;" Eccha I. 5. In regard now to actual matter of fact, the whole war in which Bithur was besieged by Adrian, lasted only about two years; and the whole time of the Jewish war, that elapsed before Jerusalem was taken, was about four years; while the actual siege itself of Jerusalem, was only about some five or six months. Yet the Rabbinical author of Eccha assigns the same period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, not only to all these events, but to many others. In all these and the like cases, then, the tropical or secondary use of the number $3\frac{1}{2}$ is quite plain.

Let us now inquire, whether we can go back to the *origin* of such a usage. We have already seen, for example, in regard to the number seven, that there was a special original cause, why it should be chosen as a mystical number or employed in a tropical manner, viz., the original division of time at the period of finishing the creation. If now we can discover some like reason why $3\frac{1}{2}$ years should be thus employed in

prophecy, it will throw additional light upon the subject of our inquiries.

In Dan. 12 : 7 an example occurs, of the phrase "time and times and an half," i. e. the period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, used in prophecy as one of the not uncommon designations of time. Here, according to the general consent of the more judicious commentators, the prophecy has respect to the oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his persecution of the Jews on account of their religion. The time during which this continued, reckoning from the taking of the city by Apollonius under the orders of Antiochus, in June 167 B. C., to the time when Judas Maccabaeus again retook the temple and consecrated it anew to the worship of God, was, as we have already seen, three years and six months ; (see Jahn's Heb. Comm. § 95, 96).

Never did the Jews experience such a persecution for their religion as under Antiochus. The horrible sacrilege committed upon the temple of Jehovah, and the profaning of the temple with idol rites and sacrifices, made such a deep impression on the minds of all who were sincerely attached to the laws and customs of their fathers, that the period in which Antiochus persecuted them at Jerusalem, seems plainly to have become a proverbial one, made use of in order to designate the continuance of any great and dreadful evil. All this was perfectly natural.

In its first *origin* then, as employed in prophecy, $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, it seems plain, were to be literally understood.

In Dan. 7 : 25 the same period is also mentioned. If we suppose, now, with some commentators, that this prediction has reference to the second wasting or destruction of Judea under the Romans, it cannot, at any rate, be literally construed. So far as we can ascertain, the whole of the Roman war lasted between six and seven years ; and the taking of Jerusalem was, as we have seen, a little more than four years after the commencement of the war. Here then, the literal and exact sense of $3\frac{1}{2}$ could not be urged ; but by it must be understood, 'about this period of time.' The writer means to say, (on the supposition that this prediction is here such as the interpreters in question represent it to be), that the second wasting of the holy city shall be like the first, i. e. it shall be accomplished in about the same space of time that the first great oppression and persecution lasted under Antiochus. At any rate, it cannot mean 1260 years, on this ground of interpretation.

But if now we suppose, with other commentators, that Dan. 7: 25 predicts the Romish *spiritual* hierarchy and persecuting power, the difficulties that stand in the way of this have already been proffered to view on p. 57 above. They are apparently too serious to be overcome. I need not, therefore, repeat what I have already said upon this topic.

In a word; no individual persecuting king, and no persecuting power either temporal or spiritual, did or could continue to lay waste, in the manner described by Daniel, for the whole period of 1260 years. In the book of Daniel, then, we have seen it to be altogether probable that the numbers which he employs (the 70 heptades of years in 9: 24 seq. excepted), are all to be *literally* understood.

In the Apocalypse, however, we have already seen, that all the numbers which the writer employs, (the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years and the 1000 years at present excepted), are employed in a *secondary* sense, i. e. in order to designate by definite numbers an *indefinite* time, shorter or longer according to the nature and exigencies of the case. They are neither to be *literally* understood, nor *representatively* interpreted, i. e. as if each day represented or stood for a year. Are the numbers $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 1000 then, to be considered as exceptions to the general usage of this writer? Every author has some peculiarities of his own; and it seems to be one of these in the writer of the Apocalypse, that he uses definite numbers respecting time in a sense which in some respects is indefinite, i. e. he employs them to designate longer or shorter periods of time in a generic way, without intending them to be specifically and literally understood.

Vitringa seems plainly to have recognized the correctness of this principle of interpretation. On Rev. 11: 9, he says: "*Ternarius enim numerus cum semise est tempus afflictionis ecclesiae; sic dictum cum respectu ad tempus, tempora, et dimidium temporis afflictionis Epiphanicae.*" Again on Rev. 11: 2 (the 42 months) he says: "*Patet hisce locis alludi ad tempus aliquod gravissimae afflictionis ecclesiae Judaicae, quam religionis causa sustinuit sub Antiocho Epiphane, quod apud Danielem designatur hac ipsa phrasi.*" Then, after saying that reference is had in this period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years to the time of drought in the days of Elijah, he goes on to observe: "*Existimo igitur, Spiritum Sanctum, ubi afflictionum testium veritatis hoc tempore [1260 days] definit, nos magis voluisse docere temporis hujus QUALITATEM, quam ejus QUANTITATEM. . . . Esse certum*

tempus, consilio Dei exacte definitum et circumscriptum, [and so are all times and seasons] ; qualia fuerunt tempora afflictionis Ahabicae et Epiphanicae. *Et in hisce, quidem putem posse modestum hujus prophetiae interpretem subsistere.* "Of those who think that a *definite quantity* of time (definite for us) is signified, he says : " Lubens hic feram *modestos ingenii lusus*, qui conciliari poterunt cum historia." Whether he would call the *lusus* of Mede, Faber, and many others here, *modestos*, one might indeed well doubt.

Ewald (Comm. in Apoc. 11: 2,) has well stated the meaning of 42 months : "Spatium tantum significat, ut non brevissimi ita nec nimis longi temporis. Septem enim annorum spatium cum Hebraeis jam vetustioribus, spatii satis longi notatio sit vaga (Judg. 6: 1, 25. 12: 9. 2 Sam. 24: 13, Ezek. 39: 9) ; seriores quidem post exilium Judaei, spatium paullo minus expressuri, numerum hunc sacrum dividere consueverunt ; ita ut in vita quoque vulgari, tres anni cum semestri, *annorum aliquot*, seu *spatii temporis satis longi*, nec tamen nimii, notatio esset vaga."

It would be difficult to state my own views more exactly than Vitranga and Ewald have done, in these and similar declarations.

In Chap. XII. of the Apocalypse, we have an account of the wasting and treading under foot the holy city by the Gentiles, for 42 months, v. 2. The testimony of the two witnesses is also to be borne, during the same period, i. e. 1260 days, v. 3. The question with which we are at present concerned, is, whether this period is to be considered as *literally* designated ; or *representatively* designated, i. e. one day put for a year ; or, finally, whether the period named stands as a definite for an indefinite time, according to the views above explained.

Much depends, in respect to a satisfactory answer, on the view taken of the contents of the chapter in which these designations of time are made. I do not deny that there is room, from the nature of the symbols and figurative language so almost exclusively employed, for hesitation and doubt in the mind of a careful and enlightened interpreter. But, considering the specification made in vs. 2 and 8, viz., that *the holy city, the great city . . . where our Lord was crucified*, is the place where all the things predicted in this chapter are to happen, I cannot refrain from the belief, that the persecuting Jewish metropolis is the principal scene of the whole ; yet not in such

a sense as to exclude the land of Palestine, which must sympathize and suffer with its capital. I regard nearly the whole of chapters VI.—XI., as a prediction that the Jewish persecuting power, (and the Gentile Roman power, which, although arrayed against the Jews in general, still co-operated with them in persecuting Christians), should fail in their attempts to extinguish the religion of Jesus, which would rise and triumph upon their fall or ruin. Principally, however, the Jewish persecuting power is regarded; and the Roman or Gentile power comes in here, only so far as it acted against Jewish Christians because they were Hebrews. As seen in prophetic vision, the unbelieving city falls; the church triumphs; and neither Jews nor Gentiles were able to prevent the spread, the increase, and the prevalence of the new religion.

As to the time now in which all this is to take place, viz., 42 months or 1260 days = $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, I must believe, that the reference made by this designation is to the former periods of affliction and distress, in the days of Ahab and in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Sufferings such as were endured by the Jews in those times must come upon the wicked Jews (v. 2), and days like those of Antiochus, which would clothe the church in sack-cloth (v. 3), must come upon the faithful. From the nature of the case, the pious and impious must in common be involved in civil commotions and calamities. But the church, even when apparently extinct for a short time (11: 7—10), shall revive and flourish and triumph, (vs. 12—19). Persecution by enemies domestic or foreign, shall not be able to extinguish it.

The period in which all this is to happen, I would not limit, however, merely to the siege and sacking of Jerusalem; for this metropolis is plainly a mere representative of the land or nation to which it belongs. The whole signified is, that times like the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of Antiochus' persecution and wasting are to come, and to endure for a considerable period; yet, at last, persecutors are to be crushed, and the church is to survive and triumph.

In chap. XII. of the Apocalypse a new scene and a new vision opens. The writer has followed to the end the destruction of the anti-christian Jewish power; and now he commences a development of new symbols, by which the anti-christian Pagan power is represented as being destroyed. The woman clothed with the sun, (the emblem of the new religion or new dispensation), is presented as being persecuted by the dragon

(the emblem of Satan and his servants), and as fleeing for safety to the wilderness (as Israel of old did from the Egyptian tyrant), where she was to continue 1260 days, i. e. $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, v. 6. In 12: 14, the period of the woman's retreat to the wilderness, is called "a time and times and half a time;" which is only another mode of expressing the same period as before, i. e. 42 months.

Now as the public ministry of Christ, (who, I cannot well doubt, is the child which the woman is to bear, and who is caught up unto God and to his throne, 12: 5), lasted about $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, after which his ascension took place, I should feel almost certain that the writer of the Apocalypse had his eye upon this period throughout the first half of his 12th chapter, were it not that the beast is represented (13: 5) as having power for the same period, i. e. 42 months. As this seems plainly to mean, that the heathen civil persecuting power and heathen idolatry should continue during such a period, while spiritual Jerusalem is afflicted, we seem here to be compelled to adopt a tropical exegesis of the 42 months, i. e. to construe it as signifying *an indefinite and considerable period*. But still I do not feel very confident, that this need or ought to have a direct bearing on the periods previously named in chap. XII., while the subject in some respects is different.

It is not my present design to enter into a discussion respecting the specific objects intended to be portrayed by the writer of the Apocalypse, in chapters XII. seq. of this peculiar book. Enough, that the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of 'the woman's retreat to the wilderness' (12: 6, 14), are the consequence of persecution; enough that the beast which "makes war with the saints, which opens its mouth in blasphemy against God" (vs. 6, 7), has power for forty-two months. Here is the same reference as before, to the times of Antiochus the persecutor; and even the very language of Daniel respecting him is borrowed. The sum of the whole is, then, that times like those of Antiochus are to come on the church, through the instrumentality of heathen powers, and that fierce and bloody persecution may be expected. But all will end, at last, in the triumph of the church and the universal reign of the Prince of Peace.

But suppose now, that 1260 literal *years* are to be assumed, as the period in which the church shall actually be in the wilderness, driven from the society of men and upheld as it were by special miraculous power; can any one, without discolour-

ing historical facts, find such a period in past history? I cannot. If I take, as the *terminus a quo*, the famous periods so often named and insisted on, viz., 603 or 615 A. D., and count 1260 years onward, I am unable to find so many years of persecution and desolation of the church. This celebrated period would end in A. D. 1863 or 1875. Are we then to regard the church as *in the wilderness*, ever since the glorious light of the Reformation burst upon her; and the beast and the false prophet as possessing completely desolating and crushing power over her? Let the ends of the earth respond to this, to which Protestants have long been sending the light of salvation. Let Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, America, the isles of the sea, answer and say, whether the beast and the false prophet are able to crush them or send them into the wilderness; or whether persecuting power has not long since begun to hide its head and retreat from the predominating influence of the church, which bids defiance to all her enemies!

Facts then oblige us to interpret the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the retreat of the church before heathen power, and the persecution and predominance of the beast, as not meaning 1260 years. Nor can we well suppose that it means literally but $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. This would be equally at variance with facts, and alien from the *usus loquendi* of the writer. We must therefore interpret it, as before, to mean *a considerable, yet not a very long period*.

Pass we on, now, to the consideration of the 1000 years, mentioned in Rev. 20 : 2—7, during which Satan is to be bound, and the triumph of the gospel to be universal.

And here permit me to remark, that I cannot perceive how the common proverbial saying, “A thousand years are with the Lord as one day, and one day as a thousand years” (2 Pet. 3 : 8), can possibly have any direct bearing upon the designations of time in the prophecies. The simple object of that saying is, to declare that lapse of time is no measure of the divine existence or purposes; or that what may seem to us as long delay, cannot appear so to the divine mind, whose thoughts and purposes are not measured by the revolutions of time. If it be applied to measure the designations of time in the prophecies, then one day, instead of being one year (as it is usually reckoned), might be counted as a thousand years; and on the other hand, the argument derived from it would be equally good, to prove that the thousand years of the Millennium will amount after all, to no more than one day. We may dismiss this text,

therefore, as being, in respect to limitation of time, quite foreign to our present inquiry.

But what is the *usus loquendi* of the Scriptures in regard to the number *one thousand*? A few examples will shew its tropical or secondary use. "The Lord . . . make you a thousand times as many as you are.—God, who keepeth covenant to a thousand generations.—How should one chase a thousand?—The word he commanded to a thousand generations.—He cannot answer him one of a thousand.—If there be an interpreter, one of a thousand.—The cattle on a thousand hills are mine.—A day in thy courts is better than a thousand.—A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand.—Though he live a thousand years twice told.—One man among a thousand have I found.—Where were a thousand vines at a thousand silverlings.—One thousand shall flee at the rebuke of one.—A little one shall become a thousand.—The city that went out by a thousand."

Nothing can be more certain, then, than the tropical use of this number, i. e. than that it stands for a large and indefinite number. What reason have we for construing it otherwise, in respect to the period of the church's prosperity?

I know of none. If the writer in the Apocalypse has not elsewhere usually employed numbers, in respect to time, in a literal and definite sense, why should we understand him as having so employed them here? The nature of the case does not decide in favour of a literal sense. A *long* period the writer plainly means to designate—a very long one. Nay, we may say in general, that the period of the church's prosperity is to be as much longer than that of her adversity, as one thousand is more than three and a half. So much, I think, we may truly gather from the designation. And what a joyful prospect does this disclose! For 1800 years the church has been, now and then, and in many respects, in deep affliction. The beast and the false prophet, i. e. heathenism and false religion, still bear sway over more than three quarters of our ruined race. But the time of deliverance, as we would hope, draws near. And when it comes, if the prosperity and universal sway of Christianity is to continue as much longer than the days of oppression and contest, as 1000 exceeds $3\frac{1}{2}$, then will it be true indeed, that the seed of the woman will bruise the serpent's head. Then will it prove to be fully true, that the triumphs of redeeming love will bring home to glory such multitudes of our

ruined race, that the number who may finally perish, will scarcely be thought of, in comparison with the countless myriads of those who will come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads. O glorious triumph of redeeming grace! Blessed victory, achieved by the great Captain of our Salvation—worthy of that blood which has been shed to accomplish it; worthy of him who laid aside divine majesty to dwell in dust, that he might accomplish the purposes of his everlasting love and mercy! Shout for joy, ye redeemed, with crowns and robes of white before the throne of God and the Lamb! Break forth into strains of ceaseless praise, ye redeemed on earth, at the boundless triumphs achieved by Jesus' blood!

I ask now the humble Christian, whose heart beats high at such a prospect—Is this *construing away* the prophecies of that blessed book, which inspires him with courage and with hope? Or is it giving to the consolatory words of Jesus a meaning which no language is fully adequate to express—filling this prophecy with all the fulness of God? Let those judge, who have eyes to see and hearts to feel, and I ask for nothing more. Such will perceive, that the promise made from the beginning, that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, can be carried into full accomplishment only in some way like that which has now been pointed out.

To every devoted disciple of the Saviour, whose heart's desire and daily prayer to God is, that his kingdom may come, I would say: Never occupy your precious time in seeking out some possible sense of the Apocalypse, by giving it a *literal* interpretation. I might even say, 'The letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive.' On earth there is not a book which has in it more of the soul of prophetic poetry, than the Apocalypse. Are the rules of tame and simple prose, then, to be made the measure of this book? It is even an exegetical heresy to believe that they should be so applied.

Listen not, I say again to the humble Christian, to those who would fain persuade you that the exact year is defined by the seer of Patmos, when the cross shall triumph through the whole earth. Of what avail, then, would all efforts be, that might be made before the predicted period? This is an interpretation which settles down the church upon her lees, until the destined year shall be ushered in. So the great Head of the Church does not design to deal with his people.

To his infant church he refused to disclose the *exact* times,

when even the anti-christian Jewish power of their day should fall. He meant that all his followers should stand continually on their guard, and keep in the attitude of watching and praying; that they should cherish a continual sense of their dependence on him. Why should he alter his discipline at the present time? Why should Christians be made to believe, that before 1840, or 1847, or 1866, or 1875, or at any other definite period, no efforts will avail to bring in the Jews with the fulness of the Gentiles into the Church of God? They should not so believe. The Millennium will come when all the followers of Jesus will do their duty. That is the true Christian faith which believes this, and puts the principle in practice. Speculation and *arithmetical* calculations about times and seasons, are not to convert the world; they have little or no tendency to do it. But a belief that "he who shall come, will come and will not tarry," yea, that *he will come just as soon as Christians are prepared to receive him*; this is a faith that would produce much fruit. It would rouse a slumbering world to action. It would proclaim the glad tidings of great joy to every creature; it would cause the ends of the earth to see the salvation of our God. Let this faith pervade the bosom of every disciple of Jesus and animate his efforts, and there would soon be abounding joy among the sons of light, over penitent and returning sinners. Heaven above and earth beneath would soon begin the awful—the delightful song, ALLELUIA, FOR THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH!

ARTICLE III.

USE OF THE PARTICLE "*INA*" IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By J. A. H. Tittmann, late Prof. of Theol. in the University of Leipsic. Translated from the Latin, and accompanied with an introduction and notes, by M. Stuart, Prof. of Sacred Lit. in the Theol. Sem. Andover.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE TRANSLATOR.

[The author of the following piece has already been commended to the notice of our public, by an introduction to Art. V. (p. 160) of the first volume of this work, written by its late editor, Professor Robinson. A somewhat familiar acquaintance with the writings of Professor Tittmann has brought me to regard him as one of the most able, sober, and impartial critics on the language of the New Testament that Germany has of late produced. He has left nothing behind him which I have seen, that will not abundantly repay perusal, and even study; which is more than can be truly said of most writers, in any age or country.

The reader who desires to peruse such of his works as have appeared in English, and on very important subjects connected with criticism, is referred to Vol. I. p. 160. seq., p. 464 seq. Vol. III. p. 45 seq.

It requires, indeed, some knowledge of criticism, in order to understand and relish the works of this writer. But those who have such knowledge, will employ their time in a very profitable manner by studying them. Acuteness, sound judgment, uncommon powers of nice discrimination, together with grammatical and exegetical tact, abound in them all. The student who aims at solid philological acquisition, such as the present times demand, should number the works of Tittmann among his text-books.

Sacred literature has, not long since, been called to mourn the too early death of this distinguished critic. The piece which follows is a posthumous publication; as the title indicates. The importance of the subject which it discusses, can hardly be appreciated in a proper manner, at first, by a cursory reader; and it may therefore be proper, to premise a few things in the way of explanation.

The use and signification of the *particles* in Greek, once a subject of little interest and attention among lexicographers and grammarians, has come at length, and very justly, to occupy a high and commanding place in criticism. One important ground of preference, which the great lexicon of Passow has over all other Greek lexicons, is the special attention that the author of it has paid to the development of the powers and uses of the Greek particles. The old work of Hooegeveen on this subject, which occupies many hundreds of quarto pages, contains a great mass of matter, and is the result of more than Herculean labour. But the critical student finds, after all, so little of order, method, philosophy of language, nice grammatical discrimination, and other qualities of this nature now so imperiously demanded by the present state of Greek criticism, that he is apt soon to grow weary of consulting this *Thesaurus*. Good use may be made of it, however, in the selection of examples, by a student who already possesses the power of discrimination; but Hooegeveen would hardly be a safe guide for one who has yet to acquire such a power.

Devarius on the *Greek Particles*, is a small work. It has, however, some claims to respectful mention. The larger work of Vigerus *de Idiotismis Ling. Graecae*, is well known even in this country, and has become common, particularly by means of the abridged form in which it has lately appeared in England. Hermann, in his German edition of the work, has made many important corrections, and supplied some new and important matter. But after all, the new patches will hardly suit well the old garment, in this case. The real fact is, that Vigerus, like Hooegeveen, has become in a measure antiquated. The old manner of dividing and subdividing the meaning of words, (until, by ramification which is almost without measure or bounds, the sight of the original meaning of the word and the proper ground of its derived significations are wholly obscured or lost), is the one which Vigerus follows throughout. In this way, one might almost say, it is easy *deducere aliquid ex aliquo*. So has Schleusner often done, in his lexicon of the New Testament; which still is a work that contains much that is valuable. An erroneous taste in matters of this kind, was introduced by a few such works as Hooegeveen, Vigerus, and others of similar character, which greatly injured most of the later lexicographers and critics in regard to their method of treating the Greek particles, until within a few years. A very different

school is now rising up under the influence of such works as those of Passow, Hermann, Matthiae, Buttmann, Winer, and others; which bids fair to throw more light upon the long neglected subject of those little words, that have often and appropriately been named *the joints and bands of discourse*.

On the use of a *particle* very often depends the whole turn and mode of a writer or speaker's meaning or reasoning; yea, the main object of the discourse itself. For an example let us take the word *iva*; of which Tittmann has so copiously, ably, and satisfactorily discoursed, in the following pages.

The evangelist Matthew, in chap. 1: 18—21, gives an account of an angel's prediction in respect to the supernatural conception and the birth of Jesus, and also of the reason assigned by the angel why the Saviour's name should be called *Jesus*. At the close of this account the evangelist adds: "Now all this was done, *iva πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν κ. τ. λ.*, *that it might be fulfilled* which was spoken of the Lord, by the prophet, saying: Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son," etc. This is one form in which *iva πληρωθῇ* may be translated, and is translated in our common version. But here, and in many other of the like passages, a serious and very important question arises, viz., whether the phrase *iva πληρωθῇ κ. τ. λ.*, is not susceptible of another translation, and one which is justified both by the nature of the case and by the signification of the particle *iva*. On this question depends the whole tenor or aspect of the evangelist's assertion. As it stands translated above, (which is the form of our common version), the meaning seems to be, that the greatest events which ever happened in our lower world, viz., the birth of Christ and also the occurrences connected with it, all took place *in order that*, or *for the purpose that*, the prophecy of Isaiah (7:14) might be fulfilled. But here the reflecting reader will be constrained to pause and ask: 'What, then? Was it not to redeem a world in ruin, that the Saviour's miraculous birth and the events accompanying it took place, rather than merely to accomplish the prediction of Isaiah?' The proper answer to this question may undoubtedly be, that *both* of the purposes named were to be accomplished by the birth of Jesus. The world was to be redeemed, and prophecy was also to be fulfilled. But the *great* and *ultimate* end must be, **THE REDEMPTION OF MANKIND**. The other, viz., the fulfilment of the particular prophecy in question, was altogether *subordinate* and merely *preparatory*. It was indeed the design of heaven, that

when a prediction had been uttered respecting the birth of a Saviour and the manner of it, that nothing should be lacking in respect to the accomplishment of this prediction. But to suppose, that the great, the unspeakably important event of the incarnation of Jesus, was simply a fulfilment of a prophecy which designated the manner of his birth—would be a supposition which seems to cover with darkness the wise and benevolent purposes of Heaven in the redemption of man, and to limit them to the production of an event, which (although of high interest as a display of miraculous power) would be, or rather would thus be represented as being, of but little importance in other respects.

Yet if, as some critics strenuously maintain, *ἵνα* means and can mean only *in order that, to the end that, for the sake or purpose of*, we seem to be thrown into all the embarrassment which such a representation would occasion. If the *telic* use only of this particle is an invariable and necessary idiom of the Greek, it is difficult to see what escape there can be from the conclusion, that the evangelist has reasoned, or at any rate expressed himself, in such a way, that we must necessarily educe from him the sentiment which has already been stated above.

If the reader is at any loss to know what the *telic* (τελική) use of *ἵνα* means, he may at once be satisfied from such examples as the following : *τί ποιήσω, ἵνα ἔχω ζωὴν αἰώνιον* ; ‘What shall I do, *in order that, or to the end that*, I may have eternal life?’ *Ἐπεισαν τοὺς ὄχλους, ἵνα αἰτήσωνται Βαρθολομαῖον*, ‘They persuaded the multitude, *in order that* they should make request for [the release of] Barabbas.’ Here, and so in most cases, *ἵνα* is *telic*, i. e. it points to *the end or object to be attained*, viz., attained by that which is related as said or done in the context which precedes it. This use is so frequent, that the reader may every where find examples to the purpose.

But is *ἵνα* limited to this sense only? A question which is answered in a satisfactory and masterly way, in the following pages. I cannot but believe and trust, that this question is now put to final rest, by this effort of Tittmann.

The amount of what he has here done, is to shew that *ἵνα* not unfrequently, even in the *classics*, bears the same sense as *ὥστε*, viz., *so that, quo fit*, or as *ὡς*, *that*. If this be satisfactorily made out, then it follows, that we may translate *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* κ. τ. λ., by the phrase *so that there should or might be an accomplishment* ; *so that* [this or that prediction] *might or should*

be fulfilled, etc. Let the reader who wishes to consider this subject duly, consult and carefully examine and weigh the following passages, where such a formula is employed; viz. Matt. 2:15, (23.) 4:14. (8:17. 12:17. 13:35.) 21:4. 26:56. 27:35 (in the text. recept.) Mark 14:49. John 12:38. 13:18. 15:25. 17:12. 18:9. 19:24, 28, 36. The instances included in parentheses, have *ὥπως* instead of *ἵνα*, which is an equivalent. These and the like passages will shew, that the use of *ἵνα* in the sense of *so that, that*, must almost of necessity be conceded. Tittmann, however, has done all which needs to be done, to show that this use may properly, and often must, be conceded.

This secondary use of *ἵνα* in the sense of *ὥστε*, is technically called *ecbatic* (*ἐκβατικὴ*), i. e. that which designates *the end or event which is actually accomplished*; from *ἐκβαίνειν* or *ἐκβασις*). The difference between the *telic* and *ecbatic* sense of *ἵνα*, e. g. in the example taken from Matt. 1:22 above, is so great, that an entirely different turn is given to the whole sentiment by means of it. If we say: *All this took place, IN ORDER THAT what was spoken by Isaiah might be fulfilled*, this is representing the events themselves that are spoken of, as taking place in subordination to the prophecy, and merely or principally in order to fulfil it. But if we say: *All this took place, SO THAT the prediction by Isaiah was, or should be, fulfilled*, then we merely affirm that the *modus* of the events was such, that a fulfilment of prophecy was accomplished by it; while at the same time, the events themselves might have an unspeakably higher end in view.

To such importance do some words, often reputed small and unimportant, frequently rise. This may serve, then, to cast strong light on the bad consequences which ensue, by negligence of lexicographers and critics with respect to such words;—a practice frequent indeed, but deeply to be lamented, and deserving of most serious disapprobation.

I must make one remark more on the formula *ἵνα πληρωθῇ*, in regard to its *ecbatic* use. It has been questioned, whether the Subjunctive mode after *ἵνα* can be rendered in any other way than as having a *future* sense. The answer to this might be, that the *Present* and *Aorists* of the Subjunctive, as is now fully conceded by the best grammarians, *do not of themselves mark any tense*, but depend for their sense in this respect, on the Indicative which may precede them, or on the sense de-

manded by the nature of the passage. Such, indeed, is the fact with all the derived or secondary modes, viz., the Opt., Imper., and Infinitive. See N. Test. Grammar, § 51. 2.

The student, then, who becomes satisfied of the *ecbatic* use of *ἵνα*, might translate *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* by the phrase, *so that there was an accomplishment*; *so that it was fulfilled, which* etc. This many have done. But although it seems to be *grammatically* lawful to do so, yet it is unnecessary, in this case, to depart so far from the more usual and classical sense of *ἵνα*. Thus much can be safely averred, viz., that the accomplishment of prophecy, whether viewed as an *event* (i. e. viewed *ecbatically*), or as a *purpose* or *end* (i. e. in a *telic* way), was still something *future*—in the order of things and in the mind of the writer—to the events themselves which happened. *Fulfilment*, at least in the order of our conceptions respecting it, *succeeded* the events by which it was brought about. It is therefore nearer to the natural order of thought, in the present case, to translate *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* by the phrase, *so that it might or should be fulfilled, which* etc.

I apprehend, moreover, that such a mode of translation expresses, more nearly than the other proposed method, the true sense of the original Greek. The writer means to say, if I rightly understand him, that it was so ordered on the part of heaven, that the events of Jesus' birth should fulfil the prophecy of the old Testament. *Design* or *purpose* I cannot think to be wholly left out of sight or excluded. But to say that the *telic* use of *ἵνα* here is *exclusive*, would be to affirm a position little short of monstrous. On the other hand, to affirm that the *modus in quo* of Jesus' birth was so arranged on the part of heaven, as that it fulfilled the prediction of Isaiah, is a very different thing, and is the very one, I apprehend, which the evangelist meant to assert. Accordingly, when we translate *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* by the phrase, *so that it should be fulfilled*, or *so that it might be fulfilled*, we give, as nearly as our language will permit, the true sense of the original.

If I have succeeded in making the reader understand the main object of Prof. Tittmann in the following dissertation, I trust he will have the patience to read or rather to study him through, with care and diligence. To speak of *patience*, indeed, when such efforts as this are presented to our examination, is almost to abuse the word. The spirit of a philologist will drink

in the whole, as a delicious draught which quenches a thirst long felt, but perhaps never before fully satisfied.

I add only, that the *ecbatic* use of *iva* was first seriously called in question, I believe, by Lehmann, (ad Lucian I. p. 71). Fritsche next contended against it, in Excursus I. ad Comm. in Matt.; then Beyer, in Kritisch. Journal, IV. p. 418 seq. Winer, in his N. Test. Grammar, edit. 3d, p. 382, admits the possibility of the *ecbatic* use; but he contends that it has been carried a great deal too far; and he denies that it is admissible in the formula *iva πληρωθῇ*, p. 385. He says that the meaning may be thus given: "God has foretold that this should happen; and since the divine predictions must be true, it could not be otherwise than that this should take place." But admitting that all this is implied in the formula *iva πληρωθῇ*, still this meaning is not at all excluded by the *ecbatic* sense of *iva*. At the same time, to suppose the *telic* use of *iva* in all the cases where this formula occurs, would be making a supposition of a state of ignorance as to the nature of language, or else of a state of mind among the evangelists and other sacred writers, that seems to me to be utterly irreconcilable with that knowledge and illumination which they every where disclose. It would be representing the main object of the New Dispensation, of which the Old was a mere type and shadow, to be the accomplishment of predictions and types and symbols, rather than the redemption of a world. So much does the sense of the so called *little* words influence the meaning of the Scriptures. Let the reader of the New Testament beware how he deems any word of it to be *little*; and let him learn duly to estimate such efforts as the following, which settle long contested and doubtful questions, with which the meaning of many an important passage of Scripture is intimately connected.

I have only to add, that in translating the following pages, I have, for the sake of perspicuity, used the liberty of breaking up the *protracted* paragraphs (so common among the German writers), and followed, greatly to the prejudice of lucid exhibition and much to the annoyance of the reader, even by Tittmann. In some cases I have divided one sentence into two, three, or even four, for the same reason. I have omitted some few remarks made by the author merely *ob iter*, which are in a good measure foreign to the discussion, and of no advantage in order to understand it. The Greek which Tittmann has quoted in full,

without any translation, I have quoted in the text only so far as the citation of the Greek words bears directly on the purpose of illustration; but I have thrown the *original* into the margin. Not having all the original authors at hand, and many of the passages quoted being taken out of context important to its illustration, I do not feel quite certain that I have in all cases given the exact shade of meaning as to every word; but if I have failed here, the reader will receive no prejudice from it, so far as the object of the following essay is concerned. The illustrations are still plain, intelligible, and valid, whether all the words that are more distantly connected are very exactly rendered or not.

There are, after all, some few places of the Latin original of Tittmann to which I shall advert in the notes, that I am not sure I understand. The *words* I can easily translate in a literal way. But the reasoning of the author seems to be expressed in terms, that will not appear, at least to most readers, as being very intelligible. Perhaps the fault is in me, and not in the author. If it be so, the reader, by recurring to the original, may correct me.

I have given a *free* translation, in order to bring the costume of the piece as near to the English fashion as might safely be done. In some cases I have added epexegetical clauses, in order to render the meaning more plain to the cursory reader. In no case have I willingly or consciously departed from the meaning of the original, or withheld any thing important to the object of the piece. TR.]

USE OF "*INA*" IN THE N. TESTAMENT.

It is now generally conceded, that the *usus loquendi*, although not destitute of some fixed and certain principles, has a very free scope in every language. But though the most learned philologists teach us, that a great part of the hermeneutic art consists in paying a proper attention to this, yet I have often wondered how it should come about, since it is universally allowed that the *usus loquendi* is diverse not only at different times when a language is a living one, but even among individual writers, that still, in those very books which of all are the most diligently studied, many things should yet be found which seem to be dubious and uncertain.

Of late, the interpreters of the New Testament are all agreed,

that for the explanation of particular words and phrases in a manner that accords with the sense of their authors, neither the most sharp-sighted search after Hebraisms, nor comparison of the Alexandrine Version, nor the somewhat dubious discovery of Hellenism, suffices. Many, however, and even some lexicographers well versed in making out the signification of particular words, either regard the *usus loquendi* of authors belonging to a golden age as their only standard, or, like a ship upon the rocks, they stick fast upon grammatical precepts. In this way it comes, since no meaning of a word seems to them to be correct unless it is one which can be found in the best writers, that they either find much fault, in their commentaries on the New Testament, with the *usus loquendi* of the sacred writers, or they leave the true sense in doubt ; while some appear to teach, with more caution, that this and that word has *properly* only this and another meaning, but yet in such and such a passage it has actually a somewhat different sense. As this must often happen, inasmuch as idioms are frequently blended in the *usus loquendi*, so it will be particularly frequent in those parts of speech whose sway in every language is somewhat unlimited, and whose interpretation is very difficult. I refer now to the particles, the use of which in the N. Test. seems to differ so much from the manner of the best classical writers. There is so great an affinity, or alliance (*logical* we may call it), between many *particles*, that, although their meaning cannot be changed into that of an opposite kind, and although those who write and speak with accuracy ought nicely to distinguish them, still they may, without committing any error, be exchanged in accordance with the different methods in which a subject is conceived of.

As I have been lately engaged in writing upon the Synonymes of the New Testament, it is my present intention to say something concerning certain *synonymous particles* ; respecting the use of which in the New Testament, all know that a great contest has existed among the interpreters of the sacred books, which is not settled even at the present time.

The particles to which I now refer, are,

"*iva · ὅπως · ὡς · ὥστε.*"

I have no apprehension that any one will affirm the signifi-

* All these Tittmann treats of and compares together ; but the design of the present essay is merely to treat of *iva* ; which involves by far the most interesting questions and the greatest difficulties.—TR.

tion of these particles to be so different, that they can never be regarded as synonymous. *Iva* designates the *end* or *cause* on account of which any thing takes place; *ὡς* suggests to the mind the *manner* in which any thing is accomplished; *ὥστε* denotes the *event*, because the particle *ὥς* is properly employed in the *comparison of like things*, and therefore *ὥστε* designates an *event* or *effect* which is in accordance with the nature of some antecedent. Now the notions *design*, *end*, *manner of accomplishing the end*, and *of the event itself*, are so related that, as in fact we can scarcely distinguish them in thought, so in speaking they are easily commuted for each other. This, then, is the very reason why they are sometimes to be reputed as synonymes; for unless they agreed in some meaning common to all, they could not be exchanged for each other. Inasmuch, moreover, as this is the nature of synonymes, that they refer a common notion of the same thing to different modes of it, it follows that conjunctions also, which designate the various modes of the same condition in which two things associated are conceived of, ought to be regarded as synonymous.

The conjunctions of which I speak agree in this, viz., that they designate connexion, i. e. *causal* conjunction; for they unite the notions of two things, the one of which is regarded as being a *cause* of the other. But as in every proposition a subject is connected with some predicate; so in those sentences in which a *causal* connection of two things is indicated, it is in such a way, as that in one the cause of the other is suggested.

The manner of sentences which belong to this species, may be two-fold; for the *cause* may be conceived of as being in the *subject*, or as being in the *predicate*. If the cause is regarded as being in the *predicate*, then the conjunction indicates the thing, on account of which that which is conceived of as being in the subject either took place or might have taken place. But if the cause is regarded as being in the *subject* of the sentence, the conjunction indicates that the cause is in the subject *why* any particular thing did or could take place.*

* This is expressed with sufficient *abstractness*. The meaning is, that in a sentence with *iva*, etc., between its several parts, if the *subject* of the sentence indicates *cause*, then the predicate will indicate the *effect*, and the conjunction between them (*iva*) is adapted to this purpose. But if, on the other hand, the predicate indicates the *cause*, then the subject must exhibit the *effect*, and the conjunction must be adapted to designate such a connection between the two. The rela-

To my mind the office of all the *causal* conjunctions seems to be only two-fold ; viz., they either show that the cause of a thing is in the subject, or else in the predicate. Consequently if a cause is regarded as being in the subject, the conjunction indicates that the effect is in the predicate ; but if the cause is regarded as being in the predicate, then what is done or effected is designated by the subject. Now since the cause must be conceived of as preceding that of which it is the cause, i. e. the effect, while the leading idea is still contained in the subject, it follows, that the cause which is regarded as being in the predicate, must be conceived of as the object on account of which the thing designated by the subject was either effected, or might or should have been effected.

All *causal* conjunctions therefore have, as before said, a two-fold province, to which the various uses of these conjunctions, as enumerated by grammarians, are to be referred in respect to origin ; for they designate either *the design*, or *the effect*, of the thing which is expressed by the subject.* The end, moreover, or object to be attained, may be conceived of in a two-fold manner, viz., either as it is in itself, or as it is regarded in the mind of him who is supposed to have accomplished any particular thing. This last may be named *purpose, design, intent*, (*consilium*). These different modes of causation, then, those conjunctions serve to express of which I am now to treat. Our first inquiry shall be directed toward

"*INA*."

It is a sentiment, common among almost all philologists and zealously defended, that *iva* is used, by accurate writers,

tion between the two parts is the same in the two cases, but the *modus* of it is different ; for at one time the subject, for example, denotes *cause*, at another *effect*. Yet the *causal* relation designated by the conjunction, remains one and the same in both cases. Thus different *modes* of the same thing are expressed.—TR.

* This clears up the obscurity which rests on the preceding paragraphs, and shews that all conjunctions denominated *causal*, are used only in such sentences as denote that one thing is done, or happens, *in order that* something else may be accomplished, etc. ; or that one thing is done, or happens, *so that* another thing is accomplished. The first denotes purpose, (*is telic*) ; the second shews event itself, (*is ecbatic*).—TR.

only τελικῶς, i. e. to denote the *end* or *purpose* for which any thing is done. Consequently, when *ἵνα* is found to be employed (as it very often is) in the N. Test., in cases where end or purpose cannot be supposed to be designated, these interpreters betake themselves to this refuge, viz., that what was said τελικῶς, is still to be understood and explained ἐκβατικῶς, i. e. in such a way as is declarative of *events* rather than of *purpose*.*

The original ground of dispute respecting the sense of *ἵνα*, may be found in the N. Test. formula, *ἵνα πληρωθῇ*. In many passages, where something is said to have been done or taken place *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τι*, viz., so that such a prediction might be fulfilled, the nature of the case does not permit us to imagine that *ἵνα* can designate *design* or *purpose*; as if, forsooth, that which takes place, had been done or effected merely for the purpose of fulfilling the prophecy in question. In these and other passages of the N. Test., although they cannot help seeing that *ἵνα* does not designate purpose or design, yet they pertinaciously adhere to their favourite maxim, viz., that *ἵνα* never denotes *effect* or *event*, although it must still be explained (as they acknowledge) in an *ecbatic* way in such passages.†

May I not now take the liberty to inquire, what can be the meaning of the assertion, that *ἵνα* never denotes any thing but design or purpose, when in passages without number it manifestly denotes *effect* or *event*? But still they say, that ‘among good classical writers it is never ecbatic.’ Although we should concede, now, this to be matter of fact, still I cannot perceive in what way it would prove *ἵνα* not to be so used among writers of another description; particularly since it is certain, that many writers employ this particle in connecting cause with effect. In languages that are still living, it is easy to distinguish between elegant diction and that which is employed for the pur-

* It is not the object of Tittmann here to suggest the impropriety of explaining *ἵνα* in an *ecbatic* way; for the sequel is occupied with endeavours to establish the very point, that *ἵνα* may have and must often have an *ecbatic* sense. The practice which he here indirectly censures, is, that while many critics hold that the only sense of *ἵνα* is *telic*, they still give themselves the liberty to explain or interpret it as having an *ecbatic* sense. This *inconsistency* he reprobates, and shews it to be needless.—TR.

† The inconsistency charged on these interpreters is here made apparent. While they say that *ἵνα* has only a *telic* sense, they, after all, feel obliged to interpret it ἐκβατικῶς, and do so.

poses of common life. Grammarians who make out the rules of our language, have accurately shewn how those German particles, *dass*, *damit*, *so dass*, *auf dass*, *um* (with the Gen. or Infin.), do differ from each other in cultivated usage; although all know that these particles are promiscuously employed, i. e. used in the same sense, in the daily intercourse of society, not only by the common people, but even by the learned. After all, such critics are unwilling to admit any meaning of Greek and Latin particles, which they do not find among the Attic writers of a polished cast; just as if the *usus loquendi* in any language, were limited by the style of the learned and cultivated! In every language, this *usus* is more extensive in conversation than in books. We do not learn the copiousness of any tongue, nor its versatility, from writers of high cultivation merely, but from popular usage. Could examples now be produced of the daily conversation of the Athenians, who lived in the time of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristophanes, I cannot doubt that we should find many words to have been in common use, which are at present reprobated by many philologists as contrary to the *usus loquendi*; and this merely because they are not found among the select few of elegant writers.

No one will understand me as speaking thus because I am desirous that our youth, who are employed in writing Latin or Greek, should make use of and imitate uncultivated writers. But still, when books of a later age, written by men whose *usus loquendi* was that of common life, are to be interpreted, to limit the signification of particles merely to the sense which is found in select classic authors, seems to me to savour of ill-timed rigidity.

If now we should concede that *iva*, in writers named *classical*, is commonly so employed that it denotes *purpose* or *design*, still that would not follow which is commonly affirmed, viz., that *iva* is not always employed to connect *event* or *effect* with cause. There are many writers even of the best stamp, the interpretation of whom would be much more facile, if we should not conclude in our own minds, that in good writers *iva* is never to be understood in an *ecbatic* way. I will not select an example from Archimedes, (the only one which Hoogeveen has with confidence adduced, p. 524), although it is a very clear one; for I am apprehensive that the critics just named would disclaim him as an elegant writer. Nor will I choose another passage from Aristophanes (Plut. v. 91), which Hoo-

geveen has cited in a doubting way ; for there is no good reason why this may not be understood *τελικῶς*. But in this same Aristophanes I find several passages in which, if *ἵνα* be taken *ἐκβατικῶς*, the sense will appear more easy and agreeable. One may be found in Vesp. vs. 311, 312 : *τί με δῆτ, ὦ μελέα μήτηρ, ἔτικτες, "Ὅν ἐμοὶ πράγματα βόσκειν παρέχης ;* 'Why, wretched mother, hast thou brought me forth, *so that (ἵνα) I must take the trouble of procuring food?*' The child does not complain that his mother bore him *with the intention* that he should perish by hunger, but that she produced him in such a miserable plight, that he must perish without food.

The same method of interpretation will apply to a passage in Nub. v. 58, where Strepsiades chides a boy who had *lighted up a drunkard-lamp* (*πότην ἤπτεν λύχνον*), i. e. one which would consume an immoderate quantity of oil. *Δεῦρ' ἔλθ',* says he, *ἵνα κλάῃς* : plainly in the sense of the Latin, *Accede huc ut ejules*, i. e. 'come here that you may howl,' [or, in our vulgar idiom, 'that you may have a crying-spell']. The *design* of the lad's coming would not be this ; but this would be the *consequence* or *event* of his coming. He commands him indeed to come, that he may scourge him ; but in so saying, he indicates the event itself that would follow, and not the reason why he gives the order ; [for the reason of this was the fault committed]. '*ἵνα* therefore, in this passage, does not designate the idea of purpose or design, but of the *event* which would take place in case he should come. If however any one should think there is more of subtilty than of truth in this explanation, it will suffice to say, that *ἵνα* is here employed so as not only to designate the purpose, but also the *event*.*

In like manner may a passage of Euripides (Iphig. T. vs. 357, 358) be construed, where Iphigenia complains, that no ship has arrived which could bring Helen and Menelaus, *ἔν' αὐτοὺς ἀντετιμωρησάμην*, 'that (*ἵνα*) I might have been avenged

* There may be still a question, whether *ἵνα* in this case should not be regarded as *telic*, in reference to the *design* or *purpose* of him who gives the command. "Come here !" Why ? "In order that I may scourge you and make you howl." This was no part, indeed, of the *boy's* purpose in coming ; but was it not the end that was in view, in giving the command ? The design of the *master* was to scourge the offending lad ; and that design may therefore be indicated in the *ἵνα κλάῃς* that follows. Tittmann himself appears to have felt, that the example is not of a decisive nature.—Tr.

on them.' She means to say, that if a ship had brought them, she might have taken vengeance for the wrongs done her at Aulis on their account. [The object or intention of the ship's coming, would clearly not have been to accomplish such a purpose. *Event* then, and not purpose, is here designated.]

After comparing many passages it appears to me, that the signification of *ἵνα*, as indicating what would happen if something else had taken place, may be found in a special manner in those passages in which *ἵνα* is construed with the Preterite of the Indicative. Thus in Sophocles (Oedip. Tyr. v. 1389), we find *ἵν' ἦν τυφλός τε καὶ κλύων μηδέν*, 'so that I was, or I might be, blind and dumb;' for immediately after, in v. 1392, we find him saying, *ὡς ἔδειξα μήποτε κ. τ. λ.* Comp. Aesch. Prometh. Vinct. v. 155. [The conclusion here drawn is not plainly made out.]

Aristophanes (in Eccles. v. 152) says: "I could have wished that some of my friends had spoken what was most worthy of approbation, *ἵνα ἐκαθήμην ἥσυχος*, so that (*ἵνα*) I might have sat silent;"¹ for if they had thus spoken, he would have held his peace.

Many passages of the same tenor are found in Demosthenes; from which the following may suffice. Contra Callic. p. 1273, "You might then have said to the father of the defendant, Tisias, why do you do these things? Are you constructing a gutter? Then the water will fall into our field; *ἵνα*, so that, if he had then desisted, nothing troublesome to you had taken place [*ἦν* Indic.] towards each other. . . . And surely you must shew that a gutter actually exists, that (*ἵνα*) you may prove the father to have done wrong, not in word only, but in deed."² Pro Phorm. p. 958, 959, "These things you find fault with, instead of decorating and adorning them, *ἵνα*, so that they might appear [*ἐφαίνετο* Imperf. Indic.] most agreeable to those who give them, and to you who receive them."³ Contra Androt. p. 599,

¹ Ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἕτερον ἂν τῶν ἡθάρων λέγειν τὰ βέλτισθ', ἵν' ἐκαθήμην ἥσυχος.

² Τισία, τί ταῦτα ποιεῖς; ἀποικοδομεῖς τὴν χαράδραν; εἰτ' ἐμπεσῇται τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἡμέτερον, ἵν', εἰ μὲν ἐβούλετο παύσασθαι, μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυσχερὲς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἦν. . . . καὶ νῆ Δι' ἐπιδεῖξαι σέ γε πᾶσαν ἀνθρώποις χαράδραν οὖσαν, ἵνα μὴ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ τὸν πατέρα ἀδικοῦντα ἀπέφαινες.

³ Ταῦτα, ἀντὶ τοῦ κοσμεῖν καὶ περιστέλλειν, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς δοῦσιν ὡς εὐσχημονέστατα ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ὑμῖν, ἐλέγχεις.

“He says we ought to go before the Judges, if we believe these things to be true, *so that* (*ἵνα*) we might there risk being fined 1000 drachmas, in case we should be found guilty of false representations.”¹ [Here we cannot suppose the meaning to be, that they would go before the judges *for the sake of* being fined, but that such would be the consequence, in the case stated.]

Of the like tenor is the passage in Plato (Euthyd. p. 403), “And truly, said he, that was worthy of a hearing. Why? said I. *ἵνα ἤκουσας*, [Indic.], *so that* you might have heard men disputing, who are now regarded as peculiarly wise.”² So in Protag. p. 335, “But it was well for you, who are prepared on both sides, to give place to us, *ἵνα*, *so that* we might keep company.”³ Again in Menex. ad fin., “But that you should not complain of me, *ἵνα*, *so that* I may, on the other hand, relate [Subj. here?] to you her many and excellent remarks concerning political matters.”⁴

In all these passages, according to my apprehension, *ἵνα* is so employed as not to signify purpose but *event* or *consequence*. Even if I were to concede that *ἵνα*, when joined with the Opt. or Subj. mode, is so construed by the Attics, that for the most part it directly denotes the design of the thing which precedes, or the purpose of the agent, still I have no apprehension that the notion of *event* or *consequence* is every where excluded. Indeed these notions are so closely joined as easily to coalesce in one; for if we suppose any thing really to take place, we must necessarily suppose that something else was done, which if it had remained undone would have occasioned a failure as

¹ Καὶ φησὶ δεῖν ἡμᾶς, εἴπερ ἐπιστεύομεν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας ἀπαντᾶν, ἵνα ἐκεῖ περὶ χιλίων ἐκινδυνεύομεν, εἰ καταφευδόμενοι ταῦτ' ἐφαινόμεθα.

² Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, ἀξιὸν γ' ἦν ἀκοῦσαι. Τί; ἦν δ' ἐγώ. “Ἴνα ἤκουσας ἀνδρῶν διαλεγομένων, οἱ νυν σοφώτατοί εἰσι. [This is at least a very doubtful case. What forbids our understanding it as meaning: “For the sake of hearing men, etc.”—Tr.]

³ Ἀλλὰ σε ἔχρην ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖν τὸν ἀμφοτέρω δυνάμενον, ἵνα συνουσία ἐγίγνετο. [This appears also to be a doubtful case. May not the speaker mean: *In order that we might keep company?*—Tr.]

⁴ Ἀλλ' ὅπως μου μὴ κατερεῖς, ἵνα καὶ αὐθις σοι πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους παρ' αὐτῆς πολιτικούς ἀπαγγέλλω. [ἀπαγγεῶ?]]

to its taking place ; and this, whether it was done *purposely* to bring it about, or done only so that the taking place was a *consequence* of it.

Hence it comes, that the notions of a *final cause* (as it is named) and of an *efficient cause*, are not accurately distinguished in the language of common life ; and therefore they are usually expressed in nearly the same way. Nor are passages wanting in Homer, in which *ἵνα* is employed where he who speaks seems not only to designate a final cause, i. e. a purpose or design, but also an efficient one. We will pass by examples of such a nature as the passage in Il. I. 202, *Τίπτε' αὖτ', αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, εἰλήλουθας ; ἥ ἵνα ὕβριν ἴδῃ Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδαο ;* 'Why art thou come, then, son of shield-bearing Jove? Is it that thou mayest see the disgrace of Agamemnon, the son of Atreus?' I merely remark, in passing, that the particle *τίπτε*, in Homer, very often is put into an inquiry which respects, not the design or purpose, but *the cause on account of which* a thing is done ; e. g. in Il. II. 323. XI. 656. XII. 244, etc. A plainer example, however, may be found in Odyss. XIII. 157, "Put a stone near the land, like a swift ship [as to magnitude] ; *ἵνα*, so that all men will wonder, and a great mountain will overshadow their city."¹ Here Neptune does not mean to say, that he would do this for the purpose of exciting wonder, but (as it is explained in v. 151) that "they may stop and cease from sending away men."²

It is unnecessary, however, for us studiously to seek after examples from ancient writers. It is evident enough, that authors subsequent to the time of Alexander have very frequently employed *ἵνα* in an *ecbatic* sense. It may be proper to subjoin a few examples ; not because any will doubt, who are conversant with the later Greek writers, but because some suppose that only the Alexandrine interpreters have given to *ἵνα* such a meaning.

Marcus Antoninus (Comm. II. 11) says, "The Nature of the universe has neither committed any oversight nor missed its aim, through want of power or skill, so that (*ἵνα*) happiness and misery should come alike to the good and bad without any dis-

¹ — *Θεῖναι λίθον ἐγγύθι γαίης, καὶ τοῦ ἱκελόν ἵνα θαυμάζωσιν ἅπαντες ἄνθρωπον· μέγα δὲ σφιν ὄρος πόλει ἀμφικαλύψει.*

² — *ἵν' ἤδη σῶνται, ἀπολλήξωσι δὲ πόμπης.*

inction.”¹ Again in VII. 25, “All things which thou beholdest, the Nature which regulates the universe changes, and other things she makes from their substance, *so that* (*ἵνα*) the world is always new (*νεαρός*, *young*”).² In the memorable passage (XI. 3), where he describes the man who is ready to die, he says, “The readiness is this, *that* (*ἵνα*) it comes from his own choice, and not from mere party spirit, like that of the Christians, but in a rational way, with seriousness, and so as to persuade others without any affectation of show.”³

With Josephus this usage is every where to be found; e. g. Bell. Jud. IV. 3. 10, “We have come into calamity so great, *that* (*ἵνα*) even our enemies must pity us.”⁴

In like manner Justin Martyr (p. 504); “In this way it will not be in your power, *that* (*ἵνα*) you should influence my choice.”⁵ Again in Ep. ad Zenam (p. 508), he says, “He is said to be *ἀνόητος* [wanting in good sense], who is disordered in his intellect with respect to some peculiarity of deportment; *so that* (*ἵνα*) want of good sense may be characteristic, as well as simplicity.”⁶

So in the epigrams of Agathias (Analect. III. 61); “No one has ventured to look at your grinders, *ἵνα*, *so that* he should approach you in your dwelling.”⁷

Sextus Empiricus says (Pyrrh. III. 60), “Hemlock is mingled with every portion of water, and is extended through the whole mass, *ἵνα*, *so that* the mixture may thus be made.”⁸ [But is not this a dubious example?—Tr.]

¹ *Ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις οὔτε παρῆνεν οὔτε ἡμαρτεν ἥτοι παρ’ ἀδυναμίας οὔτε παρ’ ἀτεχνίας, ἵνα τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐπίσης τοῖς τε ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς πεφυρμένως συμβαίῃ.*

² *Πάντα ὅσα ὁρᾷς μεταβαλεῖ ἡ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦσα φύσις, καὶ ἄλλα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ποιήσει, ἵνα αἰὲν νεαρός ᾖ ὁ κόσμος.*

³ *Τὸ δὲ ἔτοιμον τοῦτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχεται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν, ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ, ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως, σμενῶς, καὶ ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πείθειν ἀτραγώδως.*

⁴ *Πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἦκομεν συμφορῶν, ἵνα ἡμῶς ἐλεήσωσι καὶ πολέμιοι.*

⁵ *Οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται σου τὸ δυνατόν, ἵνα μου κινήσῃς τὴν προαίρεσιν.*

⁶ *Λέγεται δὲ ἀνόητος, ὁ κατ’ ἰδιωτισμὸν παρανεχθεὶς τὴν αἰσθησιν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἀνόητον ἰδιωτικόν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἀφελές.*

⁷ *Οὐ τις ἀλοιητῆρας ἰδεῖν τέτληκεν ὀδόντας ὑμετέρας, ἵνα σοῖς ἐν μεγάρους πελάσῃ.*

⁸ *Ἐπιμίγνεται τὸ κώνειον παντὶ μέρει τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ παρεκτείνεται αὐτῷ ὅλον ὅλον, ἵνα οὕτως ἡ κρᾶσις γένηται.*

That the Alexandrine interpreters used particles with the greatest liberties, is very evident. Although they follow the original Hebrew very closely, and rarely use the *causal* forms of sentences which are unfrequent in the Hebrew, yet when ה, כי, or וְכֵן occur in a *causal* sense, they express them, (in the manner of the Hebrews,) promiscuously by *iva* or ὥπως, so as to denote either *design* or *consequence*. Of ὥστε they make very rare use. See and comp. Deut. 14: 23, 29. 17: 23. 6: 2. 17: 19, 20. Prov. 15: 24. Josh. 4: 6. This last example exhibits *iva* in two different senses in the same sentence: "*iva* ὑπάρχουσιν ὑμῖν οὗτοι [sc. λίθοι] εἰς σημεῖον κείμενον διαπαντός· *iva* ὅταν ἐρωτᾷ σε ὁ υἱός σου κ. τ. λ. [The first *iva* here means *in order that*, etc., corresponding to the Hebrew תְּהֵינָּה וְכֵן; the second means *so that*, etc., and *iva* ὅταν ἐρωτᾷ corresponds to וְכֵן וְשִׂאֵלֶיךָ.] See also and compare Ps. 119: 71. Ezek. 22: 12. Ps. 50: 5. Amos 2: 7.

There is, however, no need of examples; for it is plain enough, that the Alexandrine interpreters promiscuously express every kind of causal connection by those particles, whether cause strictly considered, or design, be signified by the Hebrew. This, although writing in a dialect which had many barbarisms, they could not do, unless common usage at that time had sanctioned it. Nor were these translators common men, but learned Jews who were acquainted with the vulgar Greek dialect.

In this way it may be made to appear less wonderful, that the idioms of the common spoken language should be found among the writers of the New Testament; especially in the free and undistinguishing use of the *particles*, in which the popular idiom differs most from that of the learned, who have either written classical works, or who have read and imitated them. And since this is so, it were much to be desired, that those who undertake to explain the idiom of the sacred books, would not only have due regard to the rules of syntax with respect to case, tense, modes, etc., but also to the *usus loquendi*, which is discernible not merely in these matters, but also in the meaning of words, or in the logical use of them.

In view of preceding facts, then, I hesitate not to affirm, that in the books of the New Testament, not only *purpose* and *design* are connected by *iva* with the object designed, but antecedent *cause* is also joined with its *effect* by the same particle; which therefore signifies both *purpose* or *design*, and *event*, *ef-*

fect, or consequence. That rule then or maxim of many interpreters of the New Testament, that *ἵνα* properly designates only design or purpose, but in one and in another place must still be interpreted *ἐκβατικῶς*, although it wears the appearance of refinement and nice distinction, seems to me to be erroneous; for if it is evident that *ἵνα*, in any particular passage, is so employed by the writer as not to express the purpose or design of the preceding action, but to denote event or effect, then is it certain that it does not here express design but *event*, i. e. it is *ecbatic*. Indeed it is matter of wonder to me, how it should be that many, who concede that the New Testament exhibits various significations of words peculiar to itself and which are not found in classical authors, should still deny that the same thing takes place in regard to the *particles*, and, in order to serve the rules of grammar, prefer making the unfounded distinction adverted to above, to admitting that *ἵνα* has an *ecbatic* use. I concede that they may very properly distinguish what belongs to elegant usage, and may make comparisons; but in explaining the words of the New Testament we are to inquire, not what meanings other writers have given to the words, but what notions the sacred authors themselves have designated by them. Let it be granted, then, that the interpreters in question have fully shown, that in no *classic* writer is *ἵνα* used in the same sense as *ὥστε* (*so that*), yet this does not at all prove, that in the books of the New Testament and in others which like them were written after the golden age of the Greek, this participle is not used in an *ecbatic* manner. This proof can be made out only by shewing that *ἵνα*, from its very nature, can not be employed to designate effect or event; which has never yet been done. Still they tell us, that in the New Testament *ἵνα* must be *understood* and *explained* in the *ecbatic* way, while in fact it never has such a sense! What this means, I do not well understand. The office of words, is merely to designate our ideas or notions of any thing which is the object of our thoughts; and therefore it is erroneous to say that any word can be employed according to the mind of a writer in a certain sense, and yet that it does not mean what he intended to signify by it.

It is very different from this, if any one should say, for example, that the preposition *ἐν* in a certain place had the same sense as *ἐν* or *πρός* or *σύν*; for the general notion which *ἐν* expresses, does not admit such a permutation. That often repeated distinction between the *sense* and *signification* of a word,

cannot warrant us in the assignment of a meaning to any word to which its original nature is repugnant ; for its proper force and power is the very ground why it significantly designates any thing.

Moreover, that *iva* cannot designate *event* or *effect*, no examples from the classics prove. Since also it cannot be denied, that other writers employ this particle in an *ecbatic* way, it follows that it may designate event or effect. Nor do these several *causal* notions differ so much, but that the same particle may express the notions of purpose and end, and also of cause and effect. On this account, in almost all languages the use of such particles of design, etc., is much more extended by vulgar custom than in books written with special care ; nor can we find fault with this, unless we can shew that there is something in the general idea of such a connection [i. e. of a *causal* one], as is repugnant to such a usage.

From all this we may safely conclude, that the *usus loquendi* of select classical authors who employ *iva* only in the *telic* sense, cannot prove that it is incapable of designating an *ecbatic* sense ; for it is thus employed in other writers, times without number. The interpreters above mentioned may condemn such a usage, if they please, as being less accurate ; I will make no objections to their so doing. But let them not venture on saying, that in the latter class of books *iva* is not employed *ἐκβατικῶς*.

Besides all this, I cannot doubt, if we had a better account of the origin of the particles and of their history, we should judge more equitably respecting the writers of the New Testament, in regard to the use which they make of them. For in the rude state of language and before letters were cultivated, the use of particles was, no doubt, undefined and various. But when cultivation ensued, and practice in writing was added, this use was circumscribed within narrower bounds. Moreover, when the cultivation of literature declines or ceases, popular usage again usurps the place of principle or rule, and ancient liberties are again allowed, and even more than these are taken. Such is the condition of all things human, that in their inceptive stages of existence, and before they have become objects of attention and cultivation, they labour under many imperfections ; but still, even then they are in a more flourishing state than when they have become as it were superannuated, and are in a ruinous condition through lapse of time, and hastening towards final dissolution.

We come then to the general conclusion, that THE SIGNIFICATION OF *ἵνα* IN THE NEW TESTAMENT IS OF WIDE EXTENT, so that it not only designates purpose or design, but also *event* or *effect*; and thus it appears very nearly to resemble the German *dass* [that], and the Latin *ut*. There are passages even, where both notions are combined in thought; for when we think of any thing as done or to be done, the thought of the intention, or of the cause, or of the manner, is almost necessarily connected with it.

Conjunctions, moreover, should be referred to both parts of the sentence which they connect. Thus Mark 11: 25, *εἴ τι ἔχετε κατὰ τινος, ἀφίετε, ἵνα ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ἀφ᾽ ὑμῖν παρορτώμα-τα ὑμῶν*. The Saviour could not inculcate on his disciples the mere prudential duty of forgiving others, *in order that* they themselves might obtain forgiveness, (which would be quite foreign to real integrity and purity of mind); but he wished them to consider, that if they cherished an implacable spirit, they could have no grounds to hope for pardon from God; so that if they themselves were not ready to forgive, it was impossible they should obtain forgiveness.

In like manner in Rom. 3: 8, it is plain that the notion of cause and effect [i. e. the notion of such a relation], is comprised in the expression of the men there referred to: *ποιήσωμεν τα κακά, ἵνα ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀγαθὰ* where some suppose that *ἵνα* has the sense of *quoniam*. The men in question, after the manner of the Jesuits, deprecate the blame of base conduct; for they allege that they are free from blame, not because they have sinned with the design that good might come, but because their *ψεῦσμα* (false or treacherous dealing) has been the occasion of making 'the truth of God to abound;' v. 7, comp. Rom. 6: 1. 'We may then do evil,' say they, 'so that good will come.'

The whole dispute about the meaning of *ἵνα*, as before intimated, has arisen from those passages, in which something recently done is referred to some declaration of the Old Testament in the way of prediction. Let me illustrate my views, then, respecting this particular point, by an example taken from passages of this nature.

It will be conceded to me by all, that in passages of this character the notion of *design* or *purpose* is not properly admissible. This has taken place only where a thing which is done, is conceived of as done by the counsel or purpose of another; and this idea, as all must perceive, is alien from the

passages which we are now considering. Nor does the notion of *end* or *object* any better accord with the nature of the thing; for who does not see, that it would be a most absurd declaration, in case we should affirm that those things which happened in the time of Christ, were all done in order that the predictions in the Old Testament might be fulfilled?

Let us briefly examine a few passages in Matthew. In Matt. 1 : 2, after the birth of Jesus is related as announced to Joseph, it is added (v. 22), *τοῦτο ὅλον γέγονεν, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, κ. τ. λ.*, referring to Isaiah 7 : 14. Shall we say now, that the Saviour was to be born merely that this prophecy might be fulfilled?

Again; in Matt. 2 : 15 we are told, that Joseph remained concealed in Egypt with Jesus, when the latter was a child, until the death of Herod, *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν κ. τ. λ.*, viz. so that what is said in Hosea 11 : 1 might be fulfilled. The words of the prophet are not the object of my present consideration, nor shall I now enquire whether they were originally spoken in reference to Jesus or to the Jewish people; for it is quite certain that the end proposed by Joseph, and to be accomplished by staying in Egypt, was not the fulfilment of prophecy.

Was it true, moreover, that Christ came and dwelt for some time at Capernaum (Matt. 4 : 13), *in order that* what Isaiah (8 : 23. 9 : 1) had said might be accomplished? The like may be said of Matt. 21 : 4. 26 : 56.

In Mark the formula under examination is employed but once, viz. in 14 : 9. Luke uses it neither in his Gospel nor in the Acts. In John it is most frequently employed, and it occurs 11 : 38. 13 : 18. 15 : 25. 17 : 12. 18 : 9. 19 : 24, 28, 36.

From all these passages it may be most clearly seen, that the particle *ἵνα* does not signify design or purpose, when it refers even to the most explicit prophecies; nor was there any need, in the interpretation of these passages, that critics should take refuge in the double meaning of the particle *ἵνα* in them, because they apprehended that all the passages of the Old Testament to which an appeal is made, are not real and veritable *predictions*. Uniformly the design is, *to declare the agreement between the event and the declarations of the Jewish Scriptures*.

But the use of *ἵνα* in an *ecbatic* way is not confined to declarations of this kind only. There are many passages in which the notion of design or purpose has no place, inasmuch as it would make the writer speak absurdity. Many passages of this nature occur in John. It is usual with him, when he assigns causality

to any particular thing, to conjoin the *effect* with the *cause* by the use of *ἵνα*. It is even occasionally employed in both its senses, in the very same sentence. E. g. 1: 7. "The same came for a witness, *ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ*, in order that he might bear testimony concerning the light, *ἵνα πάντες πιστεύωσι δι' αὐτοῦ*, so that all might believe through him." Here the first *ἵνα* declares the immediate purpose of the witness; the second, the ultimate object brought about by his testimony. Comp. 2 Cor. 2: 9. Rom. 9: 17: John 18: 37.* Xen. Cyrop. II. 5. 2. So in John 17: 21, *ἵνα ἐν ᾧσιν, ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεύσῃ* comp. vs. 23, 24, and John 15: 16.†.

I apprehend, also, that the ecbatic use of *ἵνα* obtains, in several passages, where interpreters have given themselves much trouble to make out the sentiment, and at the same time to insist on defending the *telic* use of *ἵνα*. E. g. John 9: 2, "Who hath sinned . . . *ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ*; so that this man should be born blind." So John 11: 4, "This sickness is not unto death, *ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, but for the glory of God, so that the Son of God should be glorified." The death of Lazarus had not this end in view; but it was the *occasion* of glorifying the Son of God. John 11: 15, "I rejoice on your account, (*ἵνα πιστεύσητε*, so that you might believe), *ὅτι οὐκ ἦμην ἐκεῖ*, that I was not there." [Here the immediate object of joy is stated to be, that Jesus was not present at the death of Lazarus, and *ἵνα πιστεύσητε* is only a *parenthetical* declaration, epexegetical of what is designed by the clause, *δι' ὑμᾶς*.] The meaning is, that Jesus rejoices in the prospect, that the resurrection of Lazarus will be attended

* Here, however, it may be doubtful whether *ἵνα* has any thing more than the *telic* sense. "For this cause was I born, and for this end came I into the world, *ἵνα μαρτυρήσω τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*, in order that, to the intent that I might bear testimony to the truth;" this latter clause being epexegetical of *εἰς τοῦτο*, and being logically (although not in point of grammatical form) *coordinate* with it. The demands of exegesis are fairly satisfied by this. We do not suppose the Saviour to mean, that his coming had no other ends in view.—TR.

† This last example, as the reader will see if he consult the original, affords one of the most indubitable cases where *ἵνα* must have the sense of *so that*. "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you, *ἵνα ὑμεῖς ὑπάγητε*, that you should go forth and produce fruit, and your fruit should be perennial, *ἵνα ὅ τι ἂν αἰτήσητε, so that whatsoever ye shall ask, etc.*" Jesus did not ordain them, *for the end* that whatsoever they should ask they should obtain, but for the purpose of bringing forth much fruit.—TR.

with the effect of confirming the faith of his disciples. John 11 : 37, " Could not this man have brought it about, *ἵνα καὶ οὗτος μὴ ἀποθάνῃ*, that even this person should not have died?" John 11 : 42, " On account of the multitude who stood by I said, *ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν, ὅτι σὺ με ἀπέστειλας*, so that they might believe [parenthetic exegetical declaration thrown in], that thou hast sent me. John 11 : 50, " It is expedient, *ἵνα εἰς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ*, that one man should die for the people." In the same manner is *ἵνα* employed in John 16 : 7. 17 : 3. 1 John 5 : 3, et al. saepe. The manner of these passages is indeed different ; for in some, *ἵνα* is preceded by certain events, in others by the cause. Yet in all passages of this nature it is plain, that the notion of purpose or design is not expressed.

The same may be said of a multitude of passages in the writings of Paul ; whose copious diction, which is often interrupted and almost overwhelmed by supervening thoughts, frequently seems to have employed some particle merely of a *similar* nature to that which might be most appropriate ; for his fervent mind, it would appear, could not well brook the delay which a particular choice of words would occasion. As examples the following passages may be consulted ; Rom. 3 : 19. 4 : 16. 5 : 20, 21. 6 : 1, 4, 6. 7 : 13. 9 : 11. 11, comp. v. 19 and 31. 15 : 6. 16 : 31, 32.

But more examples are not needed. It remains only, that I say a few things concerning two formulas of speech, which have not yet been discussed.

The first is that, where *ἵνα* is put after verbs of asking, admonishing, commanding, and others which indicate some wish or desire. This is very common in the New Testament. The critics before named deny that *ἵνα*, in these formulas, indicates object, and affirm that it designates purpose, design, etc., viz., of him who exhorts, commands, etc. E. g. εἰπὲν ἵνα παρεκάλουν ἵνα ἁψώμεθα they explain as meaning : ' Command for the purpose that ;' ' they exhorted for the end that they might touch, etc.' But besides those things which Winer has already suggested against such a method of interpretation (Gramm. Fasc. II. p. 117 seq.), I may be permitted to adduce examples from the better sort of writers. I am aware that they aver the usage in question, viz. that of placing *ἵνα* with the Subj. mode instead of the Inf. mode after verbs of the kind named above, belongs only to the more recent Greek authors. This example only they admit from Homer : " *ἵνα*

ἐθέλεις ὅρα' αὐτὸς ἔχης γέρας, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ αὐτῶς ἵσθαι δυνόμενον, 'Or do you wish *that* yourself should have the reward, but that I should remain thus bereaved of it.' [Here ὅρα stands in the like sense with *ἵνα*]. The later authors, they admit, have imitated this; see Hermann ad Orphica, p. 814. I will allow now, if they please, that among the better classic authors the usage in question is very rare; although in the later writers it is exceedingly common. Thus Nonnus, in his paraphrase of John, often employs ὅρα in order to correspond with *ἵνα* in the evangelist; see his paraphrase of John 6: 7. 11: 15, 57. 17: 15, 24, etc. Examples in point, however, may be found among the more accurate writers, viz. in Lucian, Dionysius Halicar. (Charit. iii. 1, init.), παρεκάλει δὲ Καλιρρόην, ἵνα αὐτῷ προσελθῇ, 'he besought Calirrhoe *that* etc.' [instead of saying αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν]; see Schaefer ad Dionys. Hal. de Verb. Compos. p. 121. Hebraism, therefore, should not be sought after, in such constructions as these in the New Testament. With the Seventy, this idiom is exceedingly rare.

In passages of such a nature, now, I do not see with what reason they can deny that the *object* is designated by the particle *ἵνα*. Nor can the German *dass* or *damit* be well compared with *ἵνα*. The particle *dass* we do indeed employ in order to designate a *causal* connection; and therefore, when we mean to point out the thing which we seek after; but *damit* answers better to the particle ὅπως. After verbs of asking, commanding, admonishing, etc., we use *dass* in order that we may designate the thing which we desire, demand, etc. No one would say: 'Ich bitte dich, *damit* du mir Brot gebest; ich befehle dir, *damit* du fortgehest, etc. . . *Damit* denotes *purpose* or *design*; and this is its proper use; but in common parlance and in the Version of Luther, it has a more extended meaning. Still, it cannot be put after verbs of asking, etc. But the particle *dass* has so extended a meaning, that it corresponds to the Latin *ut*, and to the Greek *ἵνα*, ὥς, ὥστε, and ὅπως.

The ground of such a construction seems to me to be this. When the thing we ask for, etc., can be expressed by a *noun*, that noun is put in the Accusative, for this is the proper office of the Acc., e. g. αὐτῷ ἄρτον· Βούλομαι εἰσφέρειν. But if we cannot make use of a noun in this way, either because the sense would be imperfect or dubious, or because that which we ask for, etc., is something which consists in action or must be done, we either employ the Inf. mode or use some other equivalent *causal* construction. If we should say: ἐνετείλατο ἄρτον, or παρεκάλεισεν

εἰρήνην, the sense which we mean to convey would be imperfect, for it would be, 'he wished that bread should be given or procured;' 'he urged that peace should be studiously sought for or made.' But to express this we should say: *ἐντειλατο ἄρτον ἀγοράζειν· παρεκάλεσεν ἔχειν* or *ποιεῖν εἰρήνην*. The Inf. is commonly employed here unless the relation of subject and predicate is or may be uncertain; which is to be known from the meaning of the preceding verb. But as there is certainty in respect to those verbs which signify *wish* or *desire*, the Greeks commonly employed the Inf.; for as to verbs of this sort, there cannot be any uncertainty that what one is said to will, that is the object of his wishes. The more elegant classical writers, therefore, usually employed the Inf.; but the later ones, even in those passages where it was unnecessary, used the particle *ἵνα* or *ὅπως*. On the other hand, even when the meaning of the Inf. would be somewhat doubtful, they still often employed it. Thus it came, that after verbs of asking, etc., the object asked for, etc., was expressed by the use of *ἵνα*. And this idiom occurs not merely in unlearned authors and those of the lower stamp, but also among those of an opposite character; as is proved by the example of Lucian and others.

Even among authors of the higher rank, certain expressions occur, which seem clearly to develop the vulgar idiom in this respect. These are elliptical expressions, which have been taken from common parlance and transferred to books, and frequently occur in the dialogistic forms of speech.

I will not here appeal to the passage from Herodotus (I. 126), which Schaefer has adduced, viz., *τοῦ ἐσιόντος κ. τ. λ.*, although the words have the same construction; for in this case there is no ellipsis. But I would adduce the formula: *τί θέλεις ποιήσω*; in which they do not doubt that *ἵνα* is to be supplied; comp. Matt. 20: 32. John 18: 39, etc. I wish however to know, in what way the idea of *purpose* or *design* is to be introduced.

Nothing is better known, than the construction of *βούλομαι* with the Future or Subjunctive; e. g. Aristoph. Ran. v. 420, *βούλεσθε δῆτα κοινῇ σκώψωμεν Ἀρχέδημον*; 'Do you wish then, that we should make sport in common with Archedemus?' Aristoph. Equit. v. 52, *βούλει παραδῶ σοι δόρυπον*, 'You wish me to present you with a supper.' So very frequently in Lucian; Mort. Dial. X. 8, *βούλει μικρὸν ἀφέλωμαι καὶ τῶν ὀφρῶν*, 'You are desirous that I should take down arrogance a little.' Dial. XX. 3, *βούλει σοὶ ἐπιδείξω καὶ τοὺς σοφούς*; 'Do

you wish me to shew you even the philosophers?' Timon, 37, βούλει διαλόγισμαι (διαλογίσωμαι?) πρὸς σε; 'Do you desire that I should talk with you?' see Hemsterh. in loc. Deorum Dial. XX. 16, βούλει ἀπομόσωμαι; 'Do you not wish that I should take an oath?

But there is no need of examples. A multitude of them occur in Xenophon and Plato; for, as it would seem, this elliptical mode of speaking was very common in conversation,* [viz., with the omission of *ἵνα*]; see Scholia ad Eurip. Phenis. v. 729. It seems to me now, that relics of popular usage are clearly discernible in this formula; but in this, as all will see, the idea of *end* or *purpose* is not expressed; see Hermann ad Viger. p. 884,—But let us advance to the second particular.

ἵνα is said by some, to have a *chronic* sense, [i. e. to relate to time, or to signify *when*], in some passages of the evangelist John. E. g. John 12: 23, ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα, ἵνα δοξασθῇ κ. τ. λ. John 13: 1. 16: 2, 32. Nonnus has expressed *ἵνα* here by ὅτε, *when*. Grammarians have made the remark, that examples of this nature are found only in the sacred books of the New Testament. One passage is adduced from Aristophanes (Nub. v. 1235), καὶ ταῦτ' ἐθέλῃσεις ἀπομόσαι μοι τοὺς θεοὺς, Ἴν' ἂν κελεύσω γῶ σε; 'Will you then be willing to take the gods to witness for me, as to these matters, *when* I shall demand it of you?' Here *ἵνα* may seem to mean *when*; and Henry Stephens, in accordance with an ancient lexicon, translates it *quandocunque*.

But if we should concede now, that the particles significant of *place*, are often appropriated to the designation of *time*, (as is the case with the German *wo* and *da*, which answer well to the *adverb* *ἵνα*), yet the construction of *ἵνα* with the Subj. mode, seems to stand in the way of its being taken *adverbially* [in the sense of *where*] in such passages. If *ἵνα*, moreover, referred to *place*, it would not be joined with the Subj., unless ἂν were inserted on which the Subj. would depend.

The passages which are adduced in our lexicons (e. g. Callim. Hymn. in Cer. v. 12. Hom. Il. vii. 353), in order to prove that *ἵνα* has such a meaning, are altogether inapposite. Two passages are also cited from Xenophon; but one of them in

* The ellipsis to which he refers here, is that of *ἵνα* after βούλει, etc., in the preceding quotations. Βούλομαι expresses *desire* or *wish*, but does not indicate *ultimate purpose*, *end*, *final object*. In accordance with this, the author has intimated above, that all will see that *ἵνα*, if here inserted, would not be *telic*.—TR.

Memorab. II. 1: 11, as emended, reads *εἶναι τις μοι δοκεῖ*, not *ἵνα τις*. In the other (De Venat. VI. 7), *ἵνα* is not *topic* but *telic*. I apprehend, therefore, that in the afore-cited passages of John, (elsewhere this sense is not assigned to *ἵνα*), this particle cannot have the meaning of *when* assigned to it. Nor do I find any passage in the New Testament, in which it means *where*. Consequently, in those passages I apprehend *ἵνα* is to be explained as indicating what is to happen in the *ᾧρα* mentioned in John 12: 23. The Greeks usually employ the Inf. in such cases, e. g. *καιρὸς καθεύδειν, ᾧρα δειπνεῖν*; or else the Gen. case, unless perspicuity demands some periphrasis. John 4: 23 has *ᾧρα ὅτε*; so in 5: 25; but in 5: 28, *ᾧρα ἐν ᾗ*. But as we, in common parlance, when we designate the time in which any thing is to take place, sometimes employ particles of *place* and *time*, sometimes the relative pronoun, and sometimes the *causal* particle *that* (*dass*); as, “the time is coming *wherein, therein, at which, that*, you will repent of it;” so *ᾧρα ἵνα* may be used in like manner, e. g. “the time is coming (when it will be) *that* etc.” In the same manner the Latins express themselves. Nor is this destitute of a good reason, if we will only concede, (what examples from many writers prove), that *ἵνα* is not only *telic*, but likewise serves to indicate the thing which was the *consequence* of another, when a *causal* connection is conceived of as existing.

[The author closes his piece with adverting to the particular religious occasions on which it was delivered or published; which it is unnecessary here to insert, as it is not connected with the main object of the discussion. That parts of this discussion will not appear as being very explicit to the young reader, there is reason to apprehend. But there are so many things, and so important ones too, which he can understand, that I would hope he will not be deterred from an attentive reading and consideration of the whole, by some paragraphs which may not appear to be sufficiently lucid. The continuation of Tittmann’s remarks (on *ὅπως, ὡς, ὥστε*), will depend, with the editor’s leave, on the reception which the readers of the Biblical Repository shall give to the present disquisition.

Other efforts of Tittmann, of a more immediately *exegetical* nature, are in store for future use; in which he discusses and illustrates some deeply interesting passages of the New Testament, about which great difference of opinion has existed. Some of these may be expected, at a future day.—TR.]

ARTICLE IV.

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN GEOLOGY AND NATURAL
RELIGION.

By Edward Hitchcock, Professor of Chemistry and Nat. Hist. in Amherst College.

The principles of geology have long been regarded not only as hostile to revealed truth, but as favourable to atheism. "It is manifest," says a very able and violent assailant of this science, "that the mineral geology, considered as a science, can do as well without God, (though in a question concerning the origin of the earth,) as Lucretius did."* And the geologists must indeed confess, that a number of their ablest writers some time ago, such for example as Hutton, did, intentionally or unintentionally, give a quite atheistical aspect to some of their most famous theories. And some of them at the present day, exhibit in their works so entire a neglect of every allusion of a religious character, as to excite pain in every pious mind, and lead many to the conclusion that geology must be the favourite resort of irreligion: for if in this department of creation the same evidence of Divine Wisdom is exhibited as in other parts of the temple of nature, how is it possible that a man should devote his life to a description of its beautiful arches and columns, and yet make no allusion to the great Master Builder!

Under such circumstances it will do no good for geologists to deny the irreligious tendency of their favourite science, unless they can show positively that it contains principles of a contrary tendency. Hitherto they seem almost without exception to have felt that nothing was required of them, but to show that atheism and infidelity do not naturally and necessarily spring from its principles. But it seems to us to be high time for them to show that influences favourable to religion may be derived from their science. And we apprehend that it will be no difficult matter thus to invert the tables. We propose to undertake the task: and hope to show that the student of nat-

* Penn's Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies.

ural theology will find the records of geology no unfruitful source of evidence as to the existence, perfections and plans of Jehovah. The bearings of this science upon revelation we pass by for the present, and propose to consider only its relation to natural theology.

The evidence of the Divine Existence that strikes most minds with the greatest force, is the mathematical adaptation to one another of the various parts of creation and the consequent proportion and harmony of action between them. Hence geology cannot be regarded as affording at first view much palpable evidence of a Deity. For we are struck, on examining its records, with the marks of disorder and ruin which the crust of the earth and its surface exhibit. Every where is seen the evidence of violent agencies in former times, now dislocating the solid strata, elevating mountains, and pouring forth volcanic matter over the surface, and then anon sweeping that surface with deluge after deluge of tremendous power. The observer, who is accustomed to look on the regularity and harmony of the heavenly bodies, and the perfect adaptation to one another, and the harmonious action of the organs of plants and animals, as proof of the existence and wisdom of a First Cause, fancies almost that he sees in the irregularity and unbridled violence of geological phenomena, the agency of an antagonist cause; or rather, the operation of blind chance. Hence it is that geologists have found it necessary to vindicate their science from the charge of atheistical tendencies. But as has often been the case in other sciences, a more thorough acquaintance with geology is beginning to make it manifest, that the confusion and violence apparent in the strata, are only necessary parts of a great and beautiful system of order, by which the universe is sustained. We are beginning to find that disorder and confusion respecting this subject, exist rather in our own limited understandings than in the crust of the globe: Or rather, we begin to see how in the vast plans of the Deity, he brings order and harmony out of apparent confusion and chance.

“From seeming evil still educing good,
And better thence again, and better still,
In infinite progression.”

Some unexpected revolutions of this kind we hope to be able

to point out in geology : And if they furnish less striking proofs of the divine existence, they afford more striking illustrations of the attributes and plans of the Deity, than those cases where design and harmonious adaptation are obvious at first sight.

In the first place, geology furnishes evidence of direct and repeated acts of creative power.

That the temperature of our globe in early times was much higher than at present, is a fact most firmly established. Indeed, very few geologists now doubt but that this heat was then so great as to melt the great mass of the globe. In the progress of ages this high temperature has been reduced to its present condition, and other changes have been meanwhile advancing. Nor can it be admitted, as some theorists suppose, that these changes constitute a revolving series, to which there is no proof of a beginning, no prospect of an end. For the crust of the globe does not exhibit evidence of more than two or three permanent states before the present : while the history of extinct animal and vegetable natures, shows, in these successive conditions of the globe, a progress towards perfection. Hence we reasonably infer, that our planet had a beginning. And we infer the same from the fact that an intensely heated globe could not have existed eternally in that condition ; since it must have begun to radiate heat at the first. True, the existence of the matter of the globe in a different condition, previous to the time when all the changes which it now presents commenced, is possible. But until the evidence of such a previous state can be discovered, it is certainly philosophical to infer that it was then created out of nothing.

This inference derives support from another fact, which seems to be too clearly established to admit of doubt ; viz., that during the changes which the globe has undergone, since its original production out of nothing, several destructions and subsequent new creations of animals and plants have taken place. Most geologists suppose that they can trace in the organic remains contained in the rocks as many as four or five distinct epochs of ruin and renewal ; that is, whole groups have been at once swept from existence by some powerful catastrophe, and their places supplied by other races called into existence by the creative fiat of the Almighty. Some geologists, however, suppose that the species have gradually become extinct, without a special catastrophe, just as species do now occasionally disappear from particular countries and even from the face of the

globe : an example of which is the *Dodo* of New Holland. But all writers agree that a vast number of species of plants and animals, some of them of enormous size, which formerly flourished, have disappeared. Imperfect and limited as our knowledge of organic remains must yet be, the most recent catalogues contain not far from 6000 species ; not more than 600 of which can now be found alive on the earth. And indeed, it is rare to find a single species, and but few genera, identical with those now living, as low down in the series of rocks as the secondary class : so that it is only in the superficial gravels and clay beds which cover the earth's surface, that we find existing species ; while nearly all those found in the solid rocks, have disappeared, and other tribes have taken their place. And although there is some disagreement among geologists, as to the number of entire changes that have taken place in the earth's inhabitants, yet all agree that some such renewals of animal and vegetable life have occurred. The tertiary formations, for instance, contain not a single species that is found in the secondary rocks immediately beneath them. And some of the secondary groups of rocks that are somewhat separated from one another, contain not one species that is common to both.

Now is it possible to explain these facts without admitting repeated acts of creative power to have taken place since the original production of the earth out of nothing ? If the present races of animals and plants existed on the globe from the earliest times, it is incredible that none of their remains occur in a petrified state. The fact is, as the records of geology abundantly testify, that such was the condition of the globe in those early times, as to temperature and in other respects, that our present races of animals and plants could not have existed then. On the other hand, such was the nature of these primeval beings, that they could not live now : so that there is no probability that many of them, if any, will yet be found in the deep recesses of the ocean and of unexplored continents. We are forced then to the conclusion, that new creations of plants and animals must have taken place in past ages ; their natures being adapted to the different conditions of the globe at different periods.

The recently developed principles of comparative anatomy—an indispensable auxiliary to geology—throw new light upon the subject of successive creations, and establish the conclusions above made. They teach us that so exactly balanced are the different species of animals among themselves, and so nicely adapted

are their constitutions and habits to the surrounding elements, that such as are found entombed in the rocks, being so unlike in their structure and habits to those now living, could not have had a contemporaneous existence ; but must have formed several distinct groups ; living on the globe while it was in widely different conditions as to temperature, surface, and vegetation. "Whether we make the most superficial or most profound examination of animals in their natural state," says Sir Charles Bell, "we shall find that the varieties are so balanced as to ensure the existence of all. This, we think, goes far to explain, first, why the remains of certain animals are found in certain strata, which imply a peculiar condition of the earth's surface ; and secondly, why these animals are found grouped together. For, as we may express it, if there had been an error in the grouping, there must have been a destruction of the whole ; the balance which is necessary to their existence having been destroyed."*

Language is sometimes used by distinguished naturalists of the present day, which may be understood to imply (though I exceedingly doubt whether such is their actual belief,) that there is in the laws of nature a power for the production or creation of new species of animals and plants, as well as for the extinction of old ones. "The hypothesis of the gradual extinction of certain animals and plants and the successive introduction of new species," says one, "is quite consistent with all that is known of the existing economy of the animate world."† "The obliteration of certain forms of animal life (and perhaps the creation of new ones)" says another, "appears to be dependent on a law in the economy of nature, which is still in active operation."‡ No special Divine Agency is represented in such passages as any more necessary for the production of new species, than for the extinction of old ones ; which we know may be the result of natural operations : and here lies our objection to such statements. For the production of new forms of animal and vegetable life must be regarded, as it ever has been, as the highest and most astonishing exercise of creative power : and if that power can be supposed to reside in the laws of nature, it seems to us that there is no phenomenon in the universe that will re-

* Mechanism of the Hand, p. 38.

† Lyell's Principles of Geology, Vol. III. p. 30. London 1833.

‡ Mantell's Geology of the S. East of England, p. 357. London 1833.

quire a higher power: and we are reduced at once to materialism and atheism. We are aware, indeed, that modern researches concerning the production of some of the lowest tribes of animals and plants, show a very remarkable connection between the play of chemical affinities and the mode of existence; so that the same matter subjected to different chemical agencies, will produce different forms of existence.* But in all these cases, both vegetable and animal life are in their lowest forms of developement; and even here (much less in more perfect animals and plants,) there is not the least evidence that the vital principle is ever communicated by any other power than that of Almighty God. The kind of life which He imparts may vary with the chemical constitution of the material organization, without proving at all that he has resigned the power of bestowing vitality into the hands of nature. "Every thing," says the distinguished anatomist whom we have already quoted, "declares the species to have its origin in a distinct creation, not in a gradual variation from some original type; and any other hypothesis than that of a new creation of animals suited to the successive changes in the inorganic matter of the globe—the condition of the water, atmosphere and temperature—brings with it only an accumulation of difficulties."†

It is the opinion of not a few distinguished naturalists, that the history of the distribution of the species of animals and plants on the earth, renders it certain, that if over the whole globe they were destroyed (except those in the ark,) by the last deluge, a large proportion of those now existing must have been created subsequent to that event. And we really do not see how such a conclusion can be avoided; although we have no time to develop the subject in this place. Nor can we stop here, even were it relevant to the subject, to show that such a view is easily reconcileable with the Mosaic history. We only remark, that the numerous extinctions and renewals of animal and vegetable life that had taken place on the globe previous to this last catastrophe, afford an analogical argument that this also might have been succeeded by a similar exhibition of creative energy. The cases already adduced from the earlier history of the globe, of successive creative acts, render it unnecessary,

* Lindley's Natural System of Botany, p. 326 et seq. New-York 1831.

† Mechanism of the Hand, p. 115.

however, to resort to any example at all problematical. The subject, however, is so full of interest that we may resume it at a future time.

The mathematician, Dr Hutton, could see nothing in the revolutions which the crust of the globe has undergone, but an eternal series of changes, where the two antagonist principles of fire and water have been in ceaseless operation; the latter to wear down continents and convey their detritus to the ocean, and the former to elevate new continents from the deep. In the mechanism of the heavens he thought he saw a correspondent series of revolutions, in which those very disturbing forces that seemed to threaten ruin to the system, by acting periodically in different directions, are made to give to the movement of the planets unending permanency. Thus he excluded all evidence of a creative and superintending agency from astronomy and geology; and this atheistical view of these sciences seems to have been but too generally admitted. But in the powerful language of Dr Macculloch, "the mathematician, accustomed to the sole contemplation of his own science, has forgotten that the laws of mechanics comprise but one of the two great powers in the universe. Chemistry is the other right hand of the Creator: the sources of change, the joint governour with mechanics; the opposing power, when its power is required. This mathematician, writing on geology, should not have forgotten that: as a mere astronomer he ought not; for that Chemistry is acting in the comets and in the sun, as it has acted and is acting in every planetary and solar body throughout the universe."* Nor was this mathematician aware of what geologists now admit, that the successive changes to which the earth has been subject, have been improvements in its condition as a habitable world; nor that there has been a correspondent advance towards perfection in the natures of the animals and plants which have been placed on it; nor that these races have been several times destroyed and renewed. In astronomy too, recent discoveries have rendered it extremely probable that there exist disturbing causes in the planetary spaces, which must inevitably produce ultimate derangement and ruin among the heavenly bodies; and, therefore, the present order among the heavenly bodies had a beginning.† Thus have the tables been completely turned on

* Macculloch's *System of Geology*, Vol. I. p. 510, London 1831.

† Whewell's *Bridgewater Treatise*.

this subject ; and astronomy and geology, especially the latter, conduct us back to the very act of creative power by which the universe was produced. And this is what no other science can do.

2. *Geology furnishes proof, both of the general superintending providence of God over our globe, and also of special interference from time to time with the usual order of things upon its surface.*

In spite of all the catastrophes and changes which the crust of the globe has undergone, the disturbing agencies have never been permitted to pass certain limits, nor to interrupt the general order, nor to interfere with the general good. Every change, however sudden and violent, appears to have been adapted to promote some important end in relation to the animals and plants which have flourished on our planet. To preserve a proper balance among such powerful agencies, and to make apparent disorder and confusion subserve the general good, is surely evidence of a divine superintendence, which only infinite wisdom, directing infinite power, can exercise. When events follow their causes with mathematical certainty, and we can see the infallible connection between antecedent and consequent, we are apt to feel as if we need look to no higher power than that which resides in nature to explain phenomena, and the idea of a Divine Superintendence fails to impress us, because we see no need of such an overruling power. But when we see the powerful agencies of nature breaking forth at irregular intervals, as if for the destruction of the world, and ruin actually follows, yet on more thorough research we find these destructive agencies to have their limits assigned them, and to be subservient to important ends, our sense of the need of a superintending Providence greatly increases, as well as our admiration of the wisdom which can employ instruments of destruction for the preservation, security, and happiness of the universe.

Now such a view of Divine Providence as this, geology presents. It does more. It furnishes us with examples of a special or particular Providence. It shows us that the regular order of events on this globe has been repeatedly interfered with. It informs us of several successive conditions of the globe, each different from that which preceded it, and furnished with new and peculiar races of animals, and plants. The fact seems to have been, that the changes which the globe underwent from epoch to epoch, rendered it necessary to repeo-

ple it from time to time with new races, whose natures were adapted to a new condition of things. Now it is not difficult to conceive how these variations in the condition of the globe should have gradually destroyed the races of plants and animals that were adapted only to a particular state, as to temperature, climate, water, &c, even without the aid of such sudden and violent catastrophes as we have reason to believe did actually occur. But how, without falling into the grossest materialism, can we account for the re-peopling of the renovated earth, without admitting a new and special act of creation? Sir Isaac Newton has said, that "the growth of new systems out of old ones, without the mediation of a Divine Power, is absurd:" superlatively absurd, we may add, if the new system be stocked by new races of plants and animals. Even if we admit what some geologists maintain, (although we think incorrectly,) that species become *gradually* extinct, and are from time to time replaced by new ones, still we perceive, that the same necessity exists for Divine interference; nay, according to this view, a new creation takes place a thousand times more frequently than the other supposition renders necessary.

If these views are correct, they exhibit to us a more impressive exhibition of a special Divine Providence than can be derived from any other department of science. They carry us back to the period when the universe was produced out of nothing, and present the Deity to us, not as withdrawing from the vast machine of nature, as if it contained within itself the power to regulate and sustain, but watching over it, directing all its movements, and from time to time fitting it up anew for new purposes, just as really and assiduously as any human artist does in relation to a machine of his own contrivance and construction. And these we think are fair inferences from a science, which many good men have regarded, and still regard, as favourable to atheism! It is curious too, that those very revolutions on the globe, disclosed by this science, behind which atheistical minds once entrenched themselves, should be found on a nearer inspection to be inscribed all over with the doctrine of a special Providence!

It ought not to be forgotten too, that the past special interference of the Deity with the regular sequence of events on the globe, is an earnest of a similar interference in future, should His purposes require. And since we now see in slow

progress the same causes which preceded former revolutions, we derive from hence a presumption in favour of the opinion that God may hereafter put forth the like renovating and new creating energy. The presumption extends too, to other acts of special interference, such as miracles and revelations. So that the legitimate effect of geology is to prepare the mind for the disclosures of the Bible.

3. *Geology furnishes numerous illustrations of the Divine Benevolence.*

1. It is illustrated by the nature of the soil resulting from the decomposition of the various rocks. Such decomposition, it is well known, is the origin of all soil : and we can see no reason in the nature of things, why the materials furnished by this process of disintegration should be adapted to the growth of those plants that are necessary for the sustenance and comfort of animals. But such is almost universally the case. True, there are wide deserts : But other causes (the chief of which is a periodical deficiency of moisture,) besides the want of power to sustain vegetation, mainly contribute to make them such. And in this adaptedness of soils for so great a variety of plants as are necessary for the support of a far greater variety of animal natures, we think we see a clear indication of Divine Benevolence.

2. We discover similar indications in the disruption, elevation, dislocation, and overturning of the rocks in the crust of the globe. With few exceptions the stratified rocks were originally deposited in a nearly horizontal position. But we now find them, the older strata especially, tilted up at all angles, and divided by numerous fissures, along which extensive lateral, vertical and oblique movements have taken place ; whereby the continuity of their layers has been destroyed, their edges made to overlap, and often whole mountains to exhibit the appearance of a mighty ruin. Into these fissures the unstratified rocks have been protruded in every possible mode, and are often piled up in the most irregular manner upon the stratified rocks ; so that the impression made upon the mind of the observer is altogether one of the wildest disorder and desolation. We can hardly avoid the inference, that when we compare all this confusion with the beautiful order and harmony which nature in all her other productions exhibits, that we have at length got into the region of " chaos and old night ;" and that it is the wreck of creation which we see ; the terrific mementos

perhaps of some former penal infliction upon a guilty race.* But our impressions and inferences are hasty and erroneous. The scene before us is only a new mode for the exhibition of Divine skill and benevolence. Suppose the strata had been left in a horizontal position. One of the consequences would have been that all, or nearly all those beds and veins of limestone, coal and metallic ores, that are now so extensively wrought in almost every country, would have remained forever hidden in the depths of the earth. But the elevation and dislocation of the strata bring them to view, and facilitate their exploration. Now consider what would be the condition of man if deprived of lime, coal and the metals. Was there no design, no benevolence, then, in the means by which they were brought within the reach of man?

3. Design and benevolence are exhibited in the production and arrangement of the valleys, that chequer the earth's surface. And most of these valleys were originally produced by the same elevating and dislocating agency which we have seen to be so serviceable in other respects. For had the strata never been thrown up and disarranged, the earth's surface must have remained a dead level; and the sea would have covered the whole of it. Or if we suppose dry land to have existed, yet without valleys, water could have existed on it only in stagnant ponds and lakes. Morasses and the rank vegetation of low and wet regions would have filled the atmosphere with pestilential miasms; and, indeed, have rendered the globe uninhabitable by such natures as now dwell upon it. In consequence of the existence of valleys, the water, raised by evaporation, and falling upon the mountains, finds its way to the great ocean; keeping itself and the atmosphere pure by its agitations, affording a wholesome beverage to all classes of animals, and sustenance to the whole vegetable kingdom; and aiding in a thousand ways to fill the world with beauty, life, and happiness. But without such an arrangement of valleys as now diversify its surface, this great system of circulation could not be carried on.

All existing valleys, however, cannot be imputed to the orig-

* Such is the view taken of these facts in Gisborne's otherwise excellent treatise, entitled, "The Testimony of Natural Theology to Christianity." All this confusion he imputes to the Noachian deluge: an opinion which is entirely disproved by the whole records of geology.

inal elevation and disruption of the strata. But in this mode were most of them commenced : though without subsequent modification, they would have been only frightful rocky chasms. Powerful diluvial and fluvial action, therefore, has been repeatedly permitted to operate upon the sides and bottoms of these valleys, to wear away their angular projections, and fill up their deep and irregular cavities with soil, so as to give them those pleasing curves which most of them now exhibit, and to render them capable of cultivation. In most level countries this diluvial and fluvial agency has produced all the valleys that exist, and which are generally sufficient to form the beds of rivers and redeem their banks from waste and desolation.

We find then, that we are indebted to the volcanic power within the earth, and to the aqueous agency that has so repeatedly and powerfully swept over its surface, not only for bringing to the light of day the mineral resources of the globe, but for all that diversity of surface which gives so much beauty and grandeur to the landscape, and is indispensable for the circulation of a fluid, whose motion is prolific of beauty and life, but whose stagnation is death. Can we any longer doubt, that there is design and benevolence in the apparent disorder and ruin of the crust of our globe? Surely here is design in the midst of confusion ; beauty spreads over a scene, which under another aspect, seemed but desolation and ruin, and the kind visage of benevolence beams upon us, where just before we saw only the flashes of an avenging Deity's wrath.

4. We derive another evidence of Divine Benevolence from the mode in which metallic ores are distributed among the rocks. If the great mass of the globe has been formerly in a state of fusion, as nearly all geologists now admit, the useful metals, being for the most part the heaviest materials of the earth, would have occupied the centre, and become enveloped by rocks and earth, so as to be forever inaccessible to man. But either through the expansive force of internal fires, or by sublimation from the same cause, or by the operation of galvanic agents, or in some other unknown method, a portion of these metals is disposed in the form of veins in nearly all the rocks at the surface. That the great mass of these metals is actually accumulated in the central parts of the globe, is probable from the very great specific gravity (about twice that of granite,) of the internal portions of the earth. Now what but Divine Benevolence should thus, in apparent opposition to gravity, have

forced towards the surface just enough of the metals to serve the important purposes of human society for which they are employed? They might have been thrown in immense masses and in a metallic state over that surface: but the fact that industry alone can now obtain them, is another proof of design and benevolence; since this virtue is of more importance to human happiness than even the metals.

And is not the relative proportion as to quantity in which the different metals are found, another evidence of the provident foresight and benevolent care of the Deity? Iron, by far the most useful, is far the most abundant, and most easily accessible. Of lead and copper, which are extremely important, but not so indispensable as iron, there is no lack at a moderate price. And as we proceed along the scale of the useful metals, we shall find for the most part, that the quantity of the metal is proportioned to its utility. The very scarcity of gold and silver gives them their value: for were they as abundant as iron, their use as a circulating medium must be abandoned. Yet scarce as they are, their astonishing ductility and malleability enable the artist to spread them over an immense extent of surface, and thus to employ their most valuable property, that of resisting oxidation, on a scale nearly commensurate with the wishes of man. In all these facts, can we fail to recognize a wisdom and benevolence which God only can possess?

5. The accumulations of rock salt, gypsum, limestone and coal in the earth in past ages, affords another exhibition of Divine Foresight and Benevolence. Geologists are agreed that all these substances were produced in a gradual manner; though as to the mode in which the two former were accumulated, they have not the most satisfactory evidence: but the origin of the various species of coal—lignite, bituminous coal and anthracite—seems now to be clearly understood. All of it had a vegetable origin. The dense tropical forests that covered all parts of the globe in the earliest times, have become converted, in the course of ages, into this most useful substance. If a superior but finite being had beheld this world, while yet only a sparse population of animals of inferior grade inhabited it, he might have thought it strange that such a vast superfluity of vegetation should cover its surface. But God was thus providing for the wants of future and superior races of beings. When man should in after times be multiplied in all lands, and forests should be swept away to make room for him, a supply of other fuel

than the existing vegetation would be necessary for his comfort and the perfection of society. God, therefore, provided beforehand for this exigency by rendering the earth prolific in such a vegetation as would be converted into coal by the slow processes of nature. He buried this treasure in the earth, by means of aqueous and volcanic agencies, and permitted these same agencies to place it within the reach of human industry against the proper time. Who can doubt but this is an example of Divine prospective Benevolence? We see in it the providence of a kind Father, laying up a store for the support of his future offspring. And we learn from it, not to judge hastily of the ultimate designs of the Deity from present appearances. What seems superfluous now, or ill adapted to our present condition, may be intended for the comfort and happiness of other beings millions of ages hence.

“ In human works, though laboured on with pain,
A thousand movements scarce one object gain :
In God’s one single can its end produce,
Yet seems to second too some other use.”

The history of the formation of limestone conducts us to similar conclusions. For the most part this substance appears to be originally produced by marine animals; God having given them the power, either to obtain it by decomposing those salts of lime which the waters hold in solution, or by some unknown chemistry to form it anew out of more simple elements. With the lime obtained in this mysterious manner, these animals construct their habitations; the most remarkable of which are the coral reefs which at present stretch over so many degrees of latitude and longitude, forming the basis of numerous islands in the Pacific ocean, and are the work of certain minute polyparia. Forsaken at length by the animals, these coral structures become buried in the earth, and there in the course of ages are mixed with other substances and subjected sometimes to partial or complete fusion, whereby they become converted into the different varieties of limestone now found in the earth’s crust. And it is a curious fact, that the quantity of limestone in the earth seems to have been gradually increasing from the earliest times; so that the accumulated store is now abundantly sufficient for the fullest population that the globe can sustain.

6. We regard the existence of volcanoes as evidential of Di-

vine Benevolence. We have already pointed out incidentally several important objects that have been accomplished in past ages by volcanic power, in the elevation of continents, the formation of valleys, and protrusion to the surface of useful minerals. But we refer now to active and not extinct volcanoes. And these we are aware, are almost universally regarded as exhibitions of the displeasure of God, rather than of his benevolence. It is, indeed, true, that they are often terrific exhibitions of his power; and when He employs them as penal inflictions, they signally manifest the sterner features of the Divine character. Yet we maintain that the design of volcanoes is to preserve and not to destroy. They have been denominated "the safety valves of our globe:" and this quaint expression conveys a forcible idea of what we mean by the benevolent design of this mighty agency. If it be indeed true, as most geologists now admit, that even at this day, the earth contains extensive accumulations of intensely heated matter, embracing perhaps all its central parts, then may it be literally true that volcanoes are the safety valves of the globe. For if such molten reservoirs do not occasionally have vent, the vapour and gases generated within them would burst the globe asunder. The phenomena of earthquakes admonish us of the consequences of closing these valves: for they are produced by the struggles of these vapours and gases to escape; and until they do escape through volcanic vents, they heave and fissure the solid strata over whole continents; and in past days they have been far more destructive to property and life than volcanoes. But so soon as the force is sufficient to lift the safety valve, that is, to uncap the volcano, the earthquake ceases. Let the valve be heavy enough and the earth would ere long be blown to atoms. To prevent such a catastrophe, God has scattered more than two hundred of these safety valves over its surface.

It will probably be asked why God could not have put in operation an agency that would have afforded the requisite security, unattended by that terrific waste of life and comfort which has followed in the track of volcanoes. We see no reason, indeed, why he could not have secured the good without the evil. But the same difficulty meets the student of natural theology at every step of his progress. To solve it, is to do nothing else than to determine why God permits evil at all: a question that has hitherto proved too deep for the human understanding. But in every case where any contrivance is adapted

to produce more good than evil, we reasonably infer the benevolence of the design. And even in the case of volcanoes, no one can imagine that the occasional loss of a few lives is a matter of so much importance as the security of the whole globe which is thereby obtained. When we can ascertain why God permits evil at all, we can answer the question, why in this case he does not afford the security without the attendant mischief.

7. Finally, the adaptation of the natures of different groups of animals to the different states of the globe in past times, affords evidence of Divine Benevolence.

So peculiar was the structure, and in many cases so enormous was the size, of the animals found in a fossil state, that we are apt to regard them as exceptions to the usual beauty and proportion of nature, a sort of half-formed and monstrous creation, corresponding rather to the ancient opinions of chaos than to the order and harmony of the existing world. The alligators and crocodiles of these times are mere pigmies when compared with the plesiosaurus, the ichthyosaurus, the megalosaurus, and the iguanodon of the ancient world. "Imagine an animal of the lizard tribe," says Mr. Mantell, "three or four times as large as the largest crocodile, having jaws, with teeth equal in size to the incisors of the rhinoceros, and crested with horns;—such a creature must have been the iguanodon! Nor were the inhabitants of the waters much less wonderful: witness the plesiosaurus, which only required wings to be a flying dragon."—Yet one of the most distinguished anatomists of the present day says on this subject, that "the animals of the antediluvian world were not monsters; there was no *lusus* or extravagance. Hideous as they appear to us, and like the phantoms of a dream, they were adapted to the condition of the earth when they existed."* "Judging by these indications of the habits of the animals, we acquire a knowledge of the condition of the earth during their period of existence; that it was suited at one time to the scaly tribe of the lacertae, with languid motion; at another, to animals of higher organization, with more varied and lively habits; and finally, we learn, that at any period previous to man's creation, the surface of the earth would have been unsuitable to him."†

* Bell's Bridgewater Treatise, p. 35.

† Idem. p. 31.

Here then do we see the overflowing benevolence of the Deity. He was fitting up this world for the future residence of intellectual and moral beings ; and he chose to do it, not by a miracle, but by the sole agency of natural causes. But must the world during this immense period remain an uninhabited waste ? Benevolence could not permit it ; and infinite power put forth its energies, under the guidance of infinite wisdom, to create we know not how many myriads of beings, with natures adapted to the semi-chaotic condition of the earth : and when that condition had become so altered that the first group of animals could no longer flourish or be happy upon it, he suffered them to become extinct, and put forth again the creative energies of the Godhead to produce a second and more perfect race : then succeeded a third, and probably a fourth ; more and more perfect in their organization, until at last man, with the existing inferior tribes, was brought into being ; because creation around him had assumed such a condition as was fitted to their natures.

Such are the beautiful displays of Divine Benevolence that meet us in that ancient field of geological research, which scepticism has heretofore described as covered over with the formless monuments of blind chance and fate ; and which piety has supposed to be consecrated to atheism !

4. *Geology enlarges our conceptions of the plans of the Deity.*

Here we must admit in the outset, that a belief in periods of time immensely long, during which geological changes have been developing, is the fundamental idea that enlarges our conceptions of the plans of Jehovah. But what man acquainted with the present state of geology, doubts that such periods of duration have actually intervened since the earth's creation ? In whatever other respects geologists disagree, all I believe, who are practically acquainted with the subject, coincide in this opinion. We can conceive how a man should persuade himself from the study of geology in the cabinet, that the revolutions of the globe have not demanded but a few thousand years for their development ; or that all the rocks should have been created in a moment in the condition in which we now find them : but we cannot imagine how any intelligent man should maintain such opinions, after having examined the strata in the mountains, and compared the strata which are now accumulating on the earth's surface with those that are consolidated. The conclusion from such an examination seems to us irresistible, that periods of

time almost too great for human powers to estimate, have been employed since the original creation of our globe, to bring it into its present state. "Let us contemplate time," says Dr. Macculloch, "as it relates to the creation, and not to ourselves, and we shall no longer be alarmed at that which the history of the earth demands. Every change which it has undergone has required time: every new deposition of rocks has been the work of ages, and the sum of these is the duration which has been reviewed; although this is possibly but a small space compared to that through which it has existed as a planetary globe." — "Who indeed can sum this series? the data are not in our power: yet we can aid conjectures. The great tract of peat near Stirling has demanded two thousand years; for its registry is preserved by the Roman works below it. It is but a single bed of coal: shall we multiply it by a hundred? we shall not exceed, far from it, did we allow two hundred thousand years for the production of the coal series of Newcastle, with all its rocky strata. A Scottish lake does not shoal at the rate of half a foot in a century; and that country presents a vertical depth of far more than three thousand feet, in the single series of the oldest sandstone. No sound geologist will accuse a computer of exceeding, if he allows six hundred thousand years for the production of this series alone. And yet what are the coal deposits, and what the oldest sandstone compared to the entire mass of the strata? Let the computer measure the Appennine and the Jura; let him, if he can trust Pallas, measure the successive strata of sixty miles in depth, which he believes himself to have ascertained, and then he may renew his computations, while when he has summed the whole, his labour is not terminated."*

This is not the place to consider the supposed interference of such views as these with revealed chronology; though we may remark in passing, that many of the most distinguished commentators and theologians of modern times are of opinion that there is no interference; and should life be spared, we may hereafter present to our readers our views of this subject. But admitting the existence of these immense periods of terrestrial existence, it at once produces an astonishing enlargement of our views of the plans of the Deity. It shows us that the brief space of man's first existence on the globe is but one of the

* *System of Geology*, Vol. I. p. 506.

units of a vast series of chronological periods that have gone before. And yet, the whole series is so linked together as to prove it all to be but a single system. A single system do we say? Perhaps—vast as it is—it is only a single link of a system. The records of past eternity may contain the history of other links vastly more extended, and the roll of coming eternity may develope others still more astonishing and illustrative of the perfections of an infinite God.

Are these immense conclusions alarming to any, because they so far surpass their previous apprehensions? But why should they be unwilling to have geology thus extend their vision as far into the arcana of time, as astronomy does into the regions of space? Why unwilling to have their souls enlarged and refreshed by the mighty plans of the Deity, which these now kindred sciences develope? Long has astronomy been celebrated for its power of liberalizing the mind and correcting the judgment as to the extent of the universe. But geology opens fields equally wide and magnificent; and when the days of prejudice have passed by, it will be regarded equally with astronomy, as the favourite field of the truly noble and pious soul.

We admit that some geological writers have used language in respect to past duration of the globe that is objectionable; because it seems at first view to favour the idea of its eternity. Very recently, for example, a geologist terminates his elaborate and able treatise on this science, by saying, that “to assume that the evidence of the beginning or end of so vast a scheme lies within the reach of our philosophical enquiries, or even of our speculations, appears to us inconsistent with a just estimate of the relations which subsist between the finite powers of man and the attributes of an Infinite and Eternal Being.* Yet this same writer in the preceding paragraph had said, that “in whatever direction we pursue our researches, whether in time or space, we discover every where the clear proofs of a Creative Intelligence, and of his foresight, wisdom and power,”† and thus we see that he was not a believer in the earth’s eternity.

Again, when we maintain that our globe had existed through an immense period of time anterior to the creation of man, we do not mean that its condition was that of a chaos, as that term

* Lyell’s *Principles of Geology*, Vol. III. p. 385.

† Idem, p. 384.

was understood by the ancient heathen philosophers. They do not, indeed, seem to have had very definite notions of a chaos. Sometimes they understood by the term only a void space : but usually they considered it as a confused and disorderly mixture of all sorts of particles, uncontrolled by the laws that at present regulate matter, and indeed, scarcely possessed of the properties that now inhere in matter. Now we maintain, that from the very moment when the fiat of creation was uttered, the matter of the globe was as perfectly and as entirely subject to natural laws as at this hour. Gravity and cohesion bound the particles together as firmly as it now does ; although probably their antagonist caloric, was more energetic in its repellency. Chemical affinities too, were in as active and powerful play as in subsequent times : Nor were electrical and magnetic phenomena different in kind from what we now witness. And as soon as animals and plants were created, the laws of life were the same as now controul the animated world. The condition of the globe was then, indeed, widely different from its present state, as to the forms of organized and unorganized matter : and in general those forms were then more simple, and of course there was less of exquisite beauty and nice proportion than nature now presents. But order and system as truly reigned through all creation, and things were mutually adapted to one another as exactly as at this hour. There was a greater simplicity of organization and proportion at that period, not because the laws of nature were less perfect, or matter was less under their controul ; but just because the circumstances of the world and the plans of the Deity made it the result of the highest wisdom to adopt such simplicity.

Such was the chaos which we believe in : and we apprehend that it corresponds with the opinions of most modern geologists. It is in fact only an exhibition of Divine Wisdom and Benevolence, under a form somewhat modified from the picture which creation now exhibits. We believe too, that the forms and condition of the globe have been changed by no other laws or causes than those now in operation : and that God chose to employ these, rather than the special interposition of miraculous power, because it seems to be a fixed principle of his government to put forth no unnecessary exercise of miraculous power. Man may call all this chaos if he will ; but it is a bright manifestation of Divine Wisdom.

The progressive improvement which the state of the globe

seems to have undergone in past ages, and is now undergoing, presents the plans of the Deity to our contemplation in an interesting light. In the earliest condition of the earth, the soils on its surface must have been meagre, and scarcely adapted to the support of vegetable life. But the processes of degradation, that have always been going on, and the accumulation of animal and vegetable matter, must improve their quality and increase their quantity. It appears too that there has been a constant increase of limestone since the stratified rocks began to be deposited. Now the calcareous are the richest of all soils, and the most prolific in vegetation. From this cause, then, we see progressive fertility produced. Accordingly, there are some reasons for supposing that each successive creation of animals and vegetables has been more numerous than the one that preceded it; and we know that there has been a progression in the complication and curious structure of their natures.

These facts teach us that the same admirable adaptation of the different parts and processes of nature, which we observe in the present creation, has always been prominent in every previous condition of the globe, indicating the untiring and ceaseless exercise of the same infinite wisdom in all ages. We see, secondly, in these facts, evidence that the plans of the Deity have always been devised with such admirable skill, that from apparent evil real good is always produced in the end. At first view we cannot but regard the tremendous revolutions which the earth appears to have undergone with painful emotions, and as evidence either of penal inflictions, or of a defect of contrivance on the part of the Creator. But here we learn that every revolution of this kind is improvement, and that its object was to fit the world for more numerous and perfect beings. This view of the subject changes the penal aspect of these revolutions into displays of benevolence, and defect of skill and contrivance into a demonstration of infinite wisdom.

Upon the whole, however, geology gives the greatest expansion to our views of the plans of Deity, by furnishing us with a clue to one of the grand conservative and controlling principles of the universe. But two of these principles have yet been discovered. Newton developed the great Mechanical Power by which the universe is sustained, when he unfolded and demonstrated his theory of gravitation. The other, the Chemical Power,—the second right hand of the Creator—it was reserved for geology to bring to light. A third, perhaps,

the Electrical Power, may yet be disclosed by some future Newton. Gravitation binds the universe together, and controuls the movements of its larger masses. But were no chemistry at work in these masses, to transmute their elements into successive forms of beauty and life, it would be literally the bands of death which gravity would impose. But chemistry is at work unceasingly through all the dominions of nature, and perpetual change is the result. This perpetual change is the great conservative and controulling principle to which we referred. On the surface of the globe, and especially among animals and plants, this constant change, this perpetual increase and diminution, renovation and destruction, have always been most obvious; and it is usually regarded as a defect or penal infliction, rather than a wise and universal law of nature. Especially does diminution and decay affect us with painful emotions. And we would not deny that such may be the circumstances under which these changes occur, as to make them real penal inflictions. Indeed, natural theology cannot but regard in this light the diseases and dissolution to which man is subject. Still geology in connection with astronomy shows us that perpetual change of form and condition is a universal law of nature; that it is not limited to the organized creation, but extends an equal dominion over suns and planets.

We see it, in the first place, in the geological history of our globe. There is an increasing agency at work all around us to wear down the mountains and to fill up the vallies; and we see the evidence of powerful diluvial action in comparatively modern times, in the accumulation of detritus, and in the grooves and furrows which the surfaces of rocks exhibit. As we descend into the solid strata, we meet with perpetual proof, in the chemical and mechanical characters of the rocks, and in their organic remains, that a multitude of changes have been going on during their deposition: or rather that there has been unceasing change.

At this point geology connects itself with astronomy; and the two sciences are made to reflect mutual light upon each other. Astronomy discloses to us certain facts in respect to other worlds, that lead the geologist strongly to suspect, that they too are undergoing those changes and that progressive improvement which the earth has experienced. The comets appear to be in the very earliest stages of those transmutations. They appear to be even in a gaseous condition, through exces-

sive internal heat ; and are not yet brought into such a state that any animal or vegetable natures with which we are acquainted could inhabit them : though the remarkable history of the extinct organized beings of our own globe, should lead us not to be very confident on this point. To become the fit residence of such natures as ours, by the operation of natural laws, will surely require periods of almost incalculable length. Still further removed from the condition of our globe appears to be that of the nebulae ; consisting apparently of the materials out of which comets might be formed : though here too, uncertain conjecture is our only guide. But the point which we wish to be borne in mind, is, that these bodies, as well as the comets, seem to be in a condition analogous to what the records of geology lead us to conjecture might have been the state of our globe at some period of the immense past. The moon, we may reasonably conjecture, seems to be so far redeemed from the excessive violence of volcanic agency, as to be adapted, perhaps, to the natures of some organized beings : though it is doubtful whether that globe has such an element as water, or any atmosphere, upon its surface. This fact, however, by no means militates against the idea that it may contain living beings. For to infer that water and air are essential to all organized existence, because such is the case on this globe, would be the conclusion of a narrow-minded philosophy. Jupiter on the other hand, it would seem, may be covered as yet with one shoreless ocean : and there perhaps such leviathans may now be playing as once sported in the earlier seas of our globe.

Such are the motions and orbits of the asteroids of the solar system, that ingenious men have been led to conjecture that they once constituted a single planet between Mars and Jupiter, which was burst asunder by some internal force. And if such a process of refrigeration has taken place in other planets as in our own, might we not admit, that under possible circumstances, such a terrific disruption might have taken place ? and that too in exact accordance with the most wise and benevolent plans of the Deity ?

Those solid meteors that sometimes fall to the earth appear to have been in a state of fusion ; and, indeed, they are usually intensely heated when they descend. May we not regard these facts too, as perfectly consonant with the idea that all the bodies of the universe are undergoing important changes by powerful agents, not the least of which is heat ?

Is it not most natural and philosophical to regard the sun as an immense globe of heated matter, constantly radiating heat into space, and therefore gradually cooling? And what are the spots on its surface, but the incipient crust? And what is the zodiacal light, but elastic vapours, driven by heat from the sun's surface and made to assume an oblate and almost lenticular form?

Shall we regard those fixed stars that have in past ages disappeared from the heavens and those which now shine only periodically, as evidence of disorder and ruin among the works of God? Rather let the analogies at which we have hinted lead us to view them as worlds in particular stages of those mighty changes to which we have reason to believe the universe is subject, and without which all would be stagnation and death.

We acknowledge that these astronomical facts afford us but faint glimpses of the geology of other worlds. Nevertheless, they seem to us to lead the mind that is conversant with the geological history of our globe, irresistibly to the conclusions that similar causes are in operation, and similar changes are in progress, in other worlds: and that perpetual change is not an anomaly peculiar to our planet, but the very essence of a vast system embracing the wide universe.

Faint as is the light that is yet thrown upon this subject, yet what an immense field for contemplation does it disclose to our view! and how do the plans of the Infinite Mind enlarge and ramify as we gaze upon them, until we see them connecting past eternity with that which is to come; the two extremities being lost in the dimness of distance! God is here exhibited to us as employing the same matter, under successive forms, for a great variety of different purposes; all, however, connected into one vast system; and all bearing upon the happiness of animated natures. How much more of grandeur and moral sublimity does such a view of creation exhibit, than the common opinion, which supposes this world, and even a large proportion of the whole universe, created to subserve the wants of man, and to be destroyed when man ceases to exist. The latter plan might, indeed, be worthy of a man, or an angel; but the former is worthy of the Deity.”*

* ——— Sed cum eae rationes, quibus inductus Universum condidit, intellectui divino semper observantur, cur mihi non persuadeam, Deum infinite potentem ac bonum jam multis vetro saeculis

And in what a new aspect does the view we have taken of this all-pervading principle of change, exhibit the tendency to decay and ruin so deeply marked on the whole material world ! Poets and sentimentalists have ever taken a melancholy interest in depicting the perishable nature of all created things :

“ What does not fade ? The tower that long had stood
The crush of thunder and the warring winds,
Shook by the slow but sure destroyer Time,
Now hangs in doubtful ruins o’er its base ;
And flinty pyramids and walls of brass
Descend : the Babylonian spires are sunk ;
Achaia, Rome and Egypt moulder down.
Time shakes the stable tyranny of thrones,
And tottering empires rush by their own weight.
This huge rotundity we tread grows old,
And all those worlds that roll around the sun.
The sun himself shall die, and ancient Night
Again involve the desolate abyss.”

But let this tendency to dissolution be regarded only as one of the necessary forms through which matter passes, in its progress towards improvement, and as necessary to the preservation and happiness of the universe, as in fact an essential feature of a sublime and far-reaching plan of the Deity ; and when we see nature thus apparently descending into her grave, we shall look upon her drooping form as a sure presage of her speedy resurrection in renovated strength and beauty. The decay and dissolution of our own bodies (in which there is something evidently penal,) have thrown a melancholy aspect over the great and salutary changes which take place in na-

mundi systemata produxisse, cur vim ejus creatricem angustis terrae nostrae, cujus existentiam sex mille circiter annos non excedere lubens fateor, terminis circumscribeam ?

“ Since the reasons that led the Deity to found the Universe always exhibit a Divine Intelligence, why should I not believe, that a God infinitely powerful and good, created the system of the world many ages ago ? Why should I confine his creating power to the narrow limits of our earth, whose duration I willingly confess does not exceed six thousand years ?”—*Doederleinii Theologia*, p. 477. Note by the commentator, C. Godofr. Junge.

ture only for the good of the universe. But the view of the subject which we have taken, dissolves this unhappy association, and leads us to connect all the revolutions of the material world with its improvement and with the vast plans of Jehovah.

But we will dwell no longer on this great theme. Our only hope is that we have thrown light enough into this almost unexplored field, to satisfy noble minds that here they may obtain such glimpses of the purposes of the Deity, as will fill and overwhelm the loftiest intellect, and excite the strongest emotions of reverence and love towards the Infinite Mind that is capable of continuing and executing such plans.

Such is the religion of geology. Prejudice may call it atheism, because it presents before us views so new and peculiar; and scepticism may pervert these views to suit an unsubdued and unholy heart. But we call this religion a transcript of the Divine Perfections. And if there be one spot in the whole circle of science, where the student of natural theology can find fuel to kindle up the flame of devotion, it is, as it seems to us, when he secures a live coal from the altar of geology.

ARTICLE V.

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT GREECE.

By the Editor.

THERE has not been any attempt, within our knowledge, to investigate thoroughly the condition of Grecian Slavery.¹ The ancient historian, for the most part, concerned himself only with the freeborn citizen. He had in general no sympathies to expend in behalf of the great prostrate multitude who toiled and died unseen. We have allusions, incidental notices, paragraphs scattered here and there in the long records from Hesiod down to the historians of Byzantium. The thoughtful tragedian

¹ The German work of Reitemeier excepted, which we have not been able to procure. So far as we know, he is the only authour, who has written formally on the subject.

sometimes drops a tear for the poor slave, and the comic poet raises a laugh at his expense, but no Xenophon was found to lift the curtain and detail the features of that system, which deprived at least two thirds of the population of Greece of all political importance, and, in a great measure, of happiness itself. In the following pages we propose to collect and embody such facts and notices as a somewhat patient examination of Greek writers has brought to our knowledge.

Greece, in its early days, was in a state of perpetual piratical warfare. Cattle as the great means of subsistence, were first the object of plunder. Then, as the inhabitants, by degrees, engaged in agricultural pursuits, men, women, and children were sought for slaves. A sea, which has innumerable islands and ports, offered powerful incentives to piracy. Perhaps the conduct of the Phenicians towards the uncivilized nations, among whom the desire of gain led them, was not always the most upright or humane. Hostilities would naturally ensue; and hence might first arise the estimation of piracy which was a fruitful source of slavery, and long prevailed among the Greeks as an honourable practice.

From the general account of the polity of the island of Crete, furnished by Plato and Aristotle, we find that Minos established his system upon two principles; that freemen should be all equal; and that they should be served by slaves. The soil was cultivated by the slaves on the public account; the freemen ate together at the public tables, and their families were subsisted from the public stock. While a comparatively small society lived in freedom and honourable leisure, a much larger portion of the human race was, for their sakes, doomed to rigid and irredeemable slavery. In the same manner, without doubt, the early inhabitants of Sicily, Corinth, Argos, and other cities, were unhappily divided.

In Homer, we find many allusions to manners and customs growing out of a state of slavery. "These are the evils," we are told in the *Iliad*, "that follow the capture of a town; the men are killed; the city is burned to the ground; the women and children of all ranks are carried off for slaves."¹ "Wretch that I am," says Priam, "what evil does the great Jupiter bring on me in my old age! My sons slain, my daughters dragged into slavery; violence pervading even the chambers of my pal-

¹ Τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγονσι, βαθιζάνους τε γυναῖκας. II. IX. 594.

ace; and the very infants dashed against the ground in horrid sport of war.”¹ In the *Odyssey*, we discover many allusions to the institution of slavery. The directions, which Penelope’s housekeeper gives, are as follows: “Go quickly, some of you sweep the house and sprinkle it, and let the crimson carpets be spread on the seats; let others rub well the tables with sponges, and wash carefully the bowls and cups. Some of you go instantly to the fountain for water.”² No less than twenty went on this errand. The whole number of maid servants was fifty; not all, however, employed in household business; for we find fifty also forming the establishment of Alcinoüs; of whom some, says the poet, ground at the mill, and some turned the spindle or threw the shuttle. Men servants waited at meals; and those of Ulysses’ household are described as comely youths, well clothed, and always neat in their appearance. Servants of both sexes seem to have been all slaves. It was praise equally for a slave and a princess to be skilful in the business of spinning, needle-work and the loom. The princess Nausicaæ, the beautiful daughter of the king of Phæacia, went with the female slaves, in a carriage drawn by mules, to a fountain, in a sequestered spot, at some distance from the city, to wash the clothes of the family.

In estimating the happiness of the heroic ages, we must take into account its extreme instability arising in part from the institution of slavery. Hence there is a melancholy tinge widely diffused over the poems of Homer.³ He frequently adverts in general terms to the miseries of mankind. That earth nourishes no animal more wretched than man is a remark which he puts into the mouth of Jove himself. His common epithet for war is “tearful,” (*δακρυόεις*). He seems to have had some knowledge by tradition, or otherwise, of a period when slavery did not exist; an idea to which Herodotus alludes, and Plutarch also in his life of Numa.

Though there were many slaves in the days of Homer, yet their number was afterwards greatly increased. At one time in Argos, they assumed the reins of government, and executed all the affairs of State, till the sons of those who had been slain, arriving at adult age, obtained possession, and expelled the

¹ ——— *ἐλκηθείσας τε θύγατρας*, II. XXII. 62.

² *Odyssey*, XX. 149.

³ See *Odys.* IV. 93, VIII. 523, XI. 621, XVIII. 129.

slaves. The latter retired to the fortress Tyrinthe which they had seized; a serious war followed. After suffering severe losses, the Argians were finally victorious.¹ The Ionian colonies on the coast of Asia Minor were supposed to furnish remarkably fine slaves. Atossa, queen of Darius, urged that monarch to make war on the Greeks in order that she might have some Ionian female slaves. When the inhabitants of Coos, says Athenaeus, sacrificed to the gods, they allowed no slaves to be present.² In the early history of Macedonia, we find that great vassals of the crown, held extensive lordships, in the inland country, with a princely authority; bearing evident analogy in office and dignity to the barons of Europe in the middle ages. In later times, also, the Macedonian constitution appears to have borne a near resemblance to that of the European kingdoms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; when the combined civil and military powers were divided among lordships, dukedoms, earldoms, and baronies. Lordships and townships together acknowledged the sovereignty of one king; especially his right to command their service in arms for the common defence. Slaves existed among them, but less numerous than in the republics, and in a more mitigated condition. The people of all ranks above slavery, in cities and throughout the country, held the important right of judgment on life and death, and of bearing arms for common defence against foreign and domestic disturbers of the common peace.³

In Thessaly, the Penests, so called from their poverty (*πένης, πενέστης*) were the descendants of the people of the neighbouring countries, conquered and enslaved by the Thessalians, and were frequently formidable to the government. They were most commonly occupied in cultivating the lands of their severe masters. In their employments, numbers, and continual disposition to revolt, they agreed with the Lacedemonian Helots.⁴ They first revolted in the wars of the Thessalians with the Achaeans, Perraeians, and Magnesians. Aristotle mentions that the island of Aegina, at one time, contained 470,000 slaves. This statement seems to be correct, though it has been called in

¹ Herodotus, Erato, 83.

² Athenaeus, Bâle ed. 1535, p. 131.

³ Mitford's Greece, Vol. VII. p. 191.

⁴ Aristotle's Pol. b. II. Athanaeus, 6, 18. Eurip. Herac. 639. Gillie's Greece, Vol. I.

question by Hume. A learned German, C. O. Müller, has accurately determined the area of Ægina, from Gell's map of Argolis, and made it 42 square miles English; thus increasing the possibility of a large slave population, especially, if we assume, as is probable, that Ægina, in early times, had possessions on the coast of Argolis. The naval dominion of the island, and its powerful assistance to others are incompatible with a small population. Slaves never occupied much room. Ægina received supplies from the countries on the Black sea, as well as the Peloponnesus, and particularly from Corinth.¹

Timæus asserts that Corinth had 460,000 slaves, in early times, before Athens had obtained possession of the commerce of Greece and the sovereignty of the seas. That the Corinthians kept a very large number of slaves, is proved by the expression, *choenix-measurers*, by which they were distinguished.²

There are different accounts of the origin of the Helots at Sparta, who were distinguished from other slaves by name as well as condition. The common opinion is that Helos, whether an Arcadian town or a rebellious dependency of Lacedæmon is not agreed, being taken by Soüs, son of Procles, king of Sparta, the inhabitants were according to the practice of the times, reduced to slavery; and were dispersed in such numbers over Laconia, that the name of Helot prevailed in that country as synonymous with slaves. It appears probable, however, that the Lacedæmonians, as well as all the Peloponnesian Dorians, had slaves of Grecian race before the reign of Soüs; and we know that after it they reduced numbers of Greeks to that miserable state. But the institutions of Lycurgus must necessarily have occasioned a considerable alteration in the condition of Lacedæmonian slaves. For as husbandry and all mechanical arts were to be exercised by them alone, their consequence in the State was considerably increased; but as private property was nearly annihilated, every slave became in a great degree the slave of every freeman. In proportion as their consequence increased, it became necessary to look upon them with a more jealous eye; and thus every Helot was watched by thousands of jealous masters.³ The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians towards the Helots is frequently alluded to by

¹ See Augustus Boeckh's Public Economy of Athens, 1828. Vol. I. p. 55.

² *Χοινιχομέτρου*. A *χοῖνιξ* held somewhat more than a half gallon.

³ Mitford Vol. I. p. 279.

many authours, though Plutarch, who was a great admirer of the Spartans, endeavours, (inconclusively) to palliate it. These poor wretches were marked out for slaves in their dress, their gestures, in short, in every thing. They wore dog-skin bonnets and sheep-skin vests ; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art or to perform any act worthy of their masters. Once a day they received a certain number of stripes, for fear they should forget they were slaves. To crown all, they were liable to the horrible *cryptia*, (*κρυψία*) *ambuscade*. The governors of the Spartan youthful freemen, ordered the shrewdest of them, from time to time, to disperse themselves in the country, provided only with daggers and some necessary provisions. In the day time, they hid themselves, rested in the most private places they could find, but at night, they sallied out into the roads and killed all the Helots they could find. Sometimes, by day, they fell upon them in the fields, and murdered the ablest and strongest of them. Thucydides, in his history of the Peloponnesian war, relates that the Spartans selected such of the Helots as were remarkable for their courage, to the number of 2000 or more, declared them free, crowned them with garlands, and conducted them to the temples of the gods ; but soon after they all disappeared, and no one could, either then or since, give account in what way they were destroyed. Aristotle says that the Ephori, as soon as they were invested with their office, declared war against the Helots, that they might be massacred under pretence of law. In other respects, they treated them with great inhumanity ; sometimes, they made them drink till they were intoxicated, and in that condition led them into the public halls, to show the young men what drunkenness was. They ordered them to sing mean and disgraceful songs, and to engage in ridiculous dances, but not to intermeddle with any thing graceful or honourable. When the Thebans invaded Laconia, and took a great number of Helots prisoners, they ordered them to sing the odes of Alcmon, Terpander, and others ; but the Helots excused themselves, alleging that it was forbidden by their masters.¹ Plutarch endeavours to prove that the cruelty practised upon the Helots was not introduced by Lycurgus. He thinks that the *ambuscade*, particularly, had its origin in the fact that the Helots joined with the Messenians, after a terrible earthquake, which

¹ Plutarch, Life of Lycurgus.

happened about 467 B. C., whereby a great part of Lacedaemon was overthrown, and in which above 20,000 Spartans perished. But Aelian affirms expressly that it was the common opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans for treating these Helots with such inhumanity.¹ The truth is that the institutions of Lycurgus made slavery indispensable. The passion for military glory was universal. Sparta was one great camp. One of the principal curses (privileges says Plutarch) which Lycurgus procured his countrymen, was the enjoyment of leisure, the consequence of his forbidding them to exercise any mechanical trade. The Helots tilled the ground, and were answerable for its produce. Lycurgus introduced an unnatural state of society, and slavery was one of its products. He had a model, however, in the institutions of Crete, Egypt and other countries, where military men generally belonged to the nobility and were a distinct order from the husbandmen, mechanics, etc. The actual number of the Helots was not far, we believe, from 400,000. That it was large, and at times, very formidable, is the unanimous testimony. Their ranks, though constantly thinned by war and the horrible cruelties of their masters, were frequently replenished by the subjection of new tribes. By the conquest of Messenae, a large number of wretched captives were forced into the condition of Helots.

Of the slavery, which existed in Attica and Athens, we have more definite information. According to the accurate map of Barbié du Bocage, which is attached to the *Travels of Anacharsis*, the area of Attica, with the two islands, Salamis and Helena, amounts to about 874 square miles. Xenophon says that the Athenians were equal in number to all the Boeotians, that is the citizens of the one country to the citizens of the other. The whole population of Attica would be known, if we could separately ascertain the number of the citizens, resident aliens, and slaves, together with their wives and children. On an occasion of a distribution of corn, which like all other distributions, was made according to the register of the adult citizens of eighteen years of age and upwards, a scrutiny was instituted in the archonship of Lysimachides, Olymp. 83, 4, into the genuineness of their birth (*γενεαιότης*.) There were then found according to Philochorus, only 14,240 genuine citizens;

¹ Aelian, *Hist. Varior.* I, 3.

and 4760, who had assumed the rights of citizens unjustly, were in consequence sold as slaves. Previously, therefore, there were 19,000 persons, who passed for citizens. After the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, besides 13,000 heavy armed infantry (*ὀπλίται*) there were also 16,000 others in Athens, who consisted of the oldest and youngest citizens and a certain number of resident aliens; the number of citizens must therefore at that time have been higher. An enumeration of the people was effected by Demetrius Phalereus, when archon at Athens in Olymp. 117,4, and yielded, according to Ctesicles, 21,000 citizens, 10,000 resident aliens, and 400,000 slaves. From this very important statement, the whole number of the population of Attica has been variously estimated. According to the usual rule of statistics, the adults have been generally taken as a fourth part of the population. This would give for the citizens 84,000, the aliens 40,000, and the slaves 400,000. Sainte Croix erroneously adds 100,000 children to the number of slaves; they were doubtless reckoned in the 400,000. With regard to the total amount of slaves, it is stated too much in round numbers to be entitled to perfect confidence. It will be sufficient to reckon 365,000 slaves, including women and children; and the whole population at 500,000; of whom the larger proportion were men, since fewer female than male slaves were kept, and not all the slaves, by any means, were married.

The proportion of the free inhabitants to the slaves can consequently be taken as 27 to 100, or nearly as one to four. In some of the American sugar plantations it has been as one to six. This number of slaves cannot appear too large, if the political circumstances of Attica are taken into consideration. Even the poorer citizens used to have a slave for the care of their household affairs.¹ In every moderate establishment many were employed for all possible occupations, such as grinders, bakers, cooks, tailors, errand-boys, or to accompany the master and mistress, who seldom went out without an attendant. Any one who was extravagant, and wished to attract attention, took perhaps three attendants with him.² We even hear of philosophers, who kept ten slaves. They were also let out as hired servants; they performed all the labour connected with the

¹ See the beginning of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes.

² Demosthenes, *Oratio* for Phorm.

care of cattle and agriculture; they were employed in the working of mines and furnaces; all manual labour and the lower branches of trade were in a great measure carried on by them; large gangs laboured in the numerous workshops for which Athens was celebrated; and a considerable number were employed in the merchant vessels and the fleet. Not to enumerate many instances of persons who had a smaller number of slaves, Timarchus kept in his workshop eleven or twelve;¹ Demosthenes' father 52 or 53, besides the female slaves in his house; Lysias and Polemarchus 120.² Plato expressly remarks that the free inhabitants had frequently 50 slaves, and the rich even more.³ Philemonides had 300, Hipponicus 600, Nicias 1000 slaves in the mines alone.⁴ Suidas on the word ἀπεψηφίσατο mentions that the slaves employed in the silver mines alone and in country labour amounted to 150,000. But Hume raises an objection on this number out of Xenophon. Xenophon proposed to the State to buy public slaves for the mines, and particularly mentions how large a revenue the State would receive from them, if it had 10,000 to begin with, remarking at the same time, "that the mines are able to receive many times this number, every body will allow, who remembers how much the slave-duty produced before the occurrences at Decelea." From this statement Hume infers that the number cannot have been so large, for that the diminution by the war of Decelea only amounted to 20,000,⁵ and the increase of 10,000 does not stand in any considerable proportion to so large a number as 400,000. It must, however, be considered that after the war of Decelea the Athenians probably ceased to keep so many slaves on account of the facility of escape, and that a still greater number than ran away may have been dismissed. Xenophon himself proves that the mines of which he has been speaking could have afforded employment to many times 10,000.⁶

In what manner this population of 500,000 souls, in Attica, was distributed, cannot now be accurately known. Athens itself contained above 10,000 houses. There were besides lodging houses, inhabited by several families, and manufactories contained many hundreds of slaves. If 180,000 are reckoned

¹ Aeschin. in Timarch.

² Demosthenes in Aphob.

³ Plato, De Republica, IX.

⁴ Xenophon, De Vectigal.

⁵ Thucyd. VII. 27.

⁶ Boeckh, Public Economy of Athens, Vol. I. p. 53.

for the city and harbours, and 20,000 for the mines, there then remain 300,000 souls for the other 608 square miles in Attica, which gives something less than $493\frac{1}{2}$ to a square mile, which, with the numbers of small market-places, villages, and farms that were in Attica, is not to be wondered at.

The servants at Athens were of two sorts; the first were those, who through poverty, were forced to serve for wages, being otherwise free born citizens, but not possessing any suffrage in public affairs, on account of their indigence, it being forbidden at some times, that persons not having such an estate as was mentioned in the law, should have the privilege of giving their voices. These were properly called *θητες* and *πελάται*, and were the most genteel sort of servants, being only in that condition during their own pleasure and necessities, and having power either to change their masters, or, if they became able to subsist by themselves, wholly to release themselves from servitude. The other kind of servants were properly *slaves*, wholly in the power of their masters, who had as good a *legal* title to them as to their lands or beasts of burden. What greatly enhanced the misery of their condition was that they had little hopes of recovering their freedom themselves, or of procuring it for their posterity. All the inheritance they could leave their children, for their masters encouraged them to marry, was the possession of their parent's miseries, and a condition but a little superiour to that of beasts.

The following were the methods in which they were reduced to this deplorable bondage. First, from poverty; men being unable to subsist of themselves, and perhaps deeply in debt, were forced to part with their freedom, and yield themselves slaves to such as were able to maintain them. Secondly, vast numbers were reduced to slavery by the chance of war, by which the vanquished became wholly at the disposal of the conquerors. Thirdly, by the perfidiousness of those who traded in slaves, who often stole persons of ingenuous birth and education and sold them. Plato and Diogenes were sold as slaves. Aristophanes informs us that the Thessalians were notorious for this species of villany;

—“ Whence will you get slaves? I'll buy them with money.
But where? for all the merchants leave off sale,
Being sufficiently enriched? Driven by hope of more gain,
The slave-dealer will come here from Thessaly.”¹

¹ Aristoph. Plut. Act II. Scene 5.

Fourthly, sale of slaves by the public authority. The father of Bion, the philosopher, was sold, together with his whole family, for an offence against the laws of the custom-house, though this did not take place at Athens.

At Athens, when a slave was first brought home, there was an entertainment provided to welcome him to his new service, and certain sweet-meats were poured upon his head. This ceremony was not practised elsewhere, though in all countries, slaves were bought and sold like other commodities. The Thracians are particularly remarkable for purchasing them with salt.¹ The Chians, whose slaves, according to Thucydides, were very numerous and were treated with severity, insomuch that on one occasion, they revolted in great numbers to the Athenians,² are reported to have been the first, who gave money for slaves. Previously, they had been exchanged for other commodities, which was the ancient way of trading before the invention of money. Homer's heroes are often said to have exchanged their captives for provisions.³

The following were some of the legal enactments respecting slavery, which were in force at various times at Athens. Persons of the meanest sort shall be capable of no magistracy. Let no person, who is a slave by birth, be made free of the city. They only shall be reckoned citizens whose parents are both so. He shall be looked on as illegitimate, whose mother is not free. No illegitimate persons shall be obliged to keep their parents. No slave shall presume to anoint, or perform exercises in the palaestra. No slave or woman, other than free born, shall study or practise physic. No slave shall caress a free born youth; he who does so, shall receive publicly fifty stripes. He that beats another man's servant, may have an action of battery brought against him. No one may sell a captive for a slave, without the consent of his former master. If any captive hath been sold, he shall be rescued, and let his rescuer put in sureties for his appearance before the polemarch. If the freedom of any slave hath been unjustly arrested by another, the arrester shall be liable to pay half the price of the slave. Any slave, unable to drudge under the imperiousness of his master may compel him to let him quit his service, for one more mild

¹ Therefore they were called *πρὸς ἅλός ἡγοράσμενα*.

² Thucyd. Hist. VIII. 48.

³ See the end of the seventh book of the Iliad.

and gentle. Slaves may buy themselves out of bondage. No slaves are to have their liberty given them in the theatre; the crier that proclaims it shall be *infamous*. All emancipated slaves shall pay certain services and due homage to the masters, who gave them liberty, choosing them only for their patrons, and not be wanting in the performance of those duties, to which they are under obligation by law. Patrons are permitted to bring an action of ἀποστάσιον against such freed slaves as are remiss in the forementioned duties, and reduce them to their pristine state of bondage, if the charge be proved against them; but if the accusation be groundless, they shall completely enjoy their freedom. Any who have a mind, whether citizens or strangers, may appear as evidence in the above-mentioned cause. He that redeems a prisoner of war, may claim him as his own, unless the prisoner himself be able to pay his own ransom. Maintenance is by no means to be given to a slave careless in his duty.¹

The Greeks were very industrious to prevent and suppress all such inclinations in slaves as would lead them to desire liberty. In general, they kept them at a great distance, by no means condescending to converse familiarly with them; instilling into them a mean opinion of themselves; debasing their natures and extinguishing in them as far as possible, all feelings of generosity and manliness by an illiberal education, and accustoming them to blows and stripes, which they thought were very disagreeable to high born souls. The following facts will show the general influence of slavery according to the common practice of the greater part of the cities and tribes of Greece. It was accounted insufferable for slaves to imitate the conduct of a freeman, or offer to be like him, in their dress or in any part of their behaviour. In those cities, where the free inhabitants permitted their hair to grow long, it was an unpardonable offence for a servant to have long hair.² They had a peculiar form after which they cut their hair,³ which they laid aside, if they ever recovered their liberty. And because slaves were generally rude and ignorant, the expression, “you have slavish hair in your soul,” was generally applied to any dull,

¹ See the first volume of Potter's Greek Antiquities, pp. 144—182 passim. London ed. 1795.

² Ἐπεὶτα δῆτα δοῦλος ὧν κομῆν ἔχεις, Aristoph. Avibus, 912.

³ Θριξ ἀνδραποδώδης.

stupid fellow. A freeman's coat had two sleeves; that of a slave but one. The slaves covered their heads with bonnets,¹ an outer garment, which they wore reached to the knees;² and had at the bottom a strip of sheepskin. They were subjected to degrading railleries from the stage.³ Terence, the scene of whose *Phormio* was laid in Athens, affirms that the slaves were neither permitted to plead for themselves, nor to be witnesses in any cause.⁴ Yet it was customary to extort confession from them by torture; which, because it was often so violent as to occasion the death of the slave, or to disable him from being serviceable to his master, any person, who demanded a slave for this purpose, was obliged to give his master a sufficient security to answer the loss of his slave. The various modes of torturing slaves are mentioned by Aristophanes,⁵ and other writers. The common way of correcting them for any offence was to scourge them with whips sometimes made of a hog's bristles. A villain, who had been guilty of any crime which deserved punishment, was said *μαστιγιαῖν* to stand in need of, and as it were to itch for the scourge. Sometimes to prevent their shrinking, or running away, they were tied fast to a pillar. Those convicted of any notorious offence, were condemned to grind at the mill, a labour very fatiguing in those days, when it was the custom to beat the grain into meal, our mills being the invention of later ages. When people wished to express the difficulty of any labour, it was usual to compare it to grinding in a mill.⁶ They were also beaten with rods and scourges, sometimes, if their offence was very great, to death. Those mills were in general called *μύλωνες*, which word Julius Pollux says was unlucky, because of the cruelty inflicted upon the slaves in mills. It was usual there to examine upon the rack. It was like-

¹ Aristoph. *Vesp.* 443.

² — *κατωνάκας φοροῦντας*. Aristoph. *Lysis*. 1153.

³ Aristoph. *Acharn.* 507. Also Thucyd. lib. I.

⁴ *Servum hominem causam orare leges non sinunt; Neque testimoni dictio est.*—Terence, *Phorm.* *Act. I. Scene 4.*

⁵ ——— *ἐν κλίμακι*

*Δήσας, κρεμάσας, ὑστριγίδι μαστιγῶν, δέρων,
Στεβλῶν, ἐπίτε τὰς ῥίνας ὄξος ἐγγέων,
Πλίνδους ἐπιτιθεῖς.*—*Ran.* *Act II. Scene 6.*

⁶ *Tibi mecum erit, Crasse, in eodem pistrino vivendum.*—*Cicero De Orat.*

wise customary to stigmatize slaves, which was usually done in the forehead, as being most visible. Sometimes other parts were thus used, it being not uncommon to punish the member which had offended. Thus the tongue of a tattler was cut out. The usual way of stigmatizing was by burning the part with a red hot iron marked with certain letters, till a fair impression was made, and then pouring ink into the furrows, that the inscription might be the more conspicuous. Persons thus used were called *στιγματῖαι*. Pliny calls them *inscripti*; Plautus, *literati*. This punishment was seldom or never inflicted upon any but slaves, and with them it was so frequent, that the Samians when they gave a great number of slaves their liberty, and admitted them to offices in the state, were branded with the infamous name of *literati*. Among some nations, as the Thracians, Scythians, and Britons, the stigma was accounted a mark of honour. The slaves were branded with stigmata not only as a punishment for their offences, but to distinguish them in case they should run away. Soldiers were branded in the hand, but slaves on the forehead. In the same manner it was customary to stigmatize the votaries of some of the gods.¹

Sometimes in war, the slaves deserted to the enemy, which, excepting theft, a crime almost peculiar to them, was the most common offence they committed, being in many places, the only way which they had to deliver themselves; but if they were taken, they were bound fast to a wheel, and unmercifully beaten with whips. The same punishment was inflicted on them for theft.² They were occasionally racked on the wheel, a cruelty never practised upon a free born person, to extort a confession from them, when they were suspected to have been accessory to any villainous design. *Τύμπανα* or *τύπανα* were cudgels or sticks of wood, with which criminals, particularly slaves, were beaten to death. The culprit was suspended to a stake and beaten till he died.

The Greeks thought it lessened the dignity of free born citizens to call slaves by any name that was in use among them. If any man presumed to give his slave the name of an honourable person, it was thought to be an intolerable offence. The

¹ See Galatians 6: 17, *τά στίγματα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι μου βαστάζω*; i. e. the scars of wounds which show that I belong to the Lord Jesus. See also Rev. 14: 9. 2 Cor. 11: 23, 25.

² Non furtum feci, nec fugi, si mihi dicat

Servus, habes pretium, loris non ureris, aio.—*Hor. Epist. I.*

Roman emperor Domitian is said to have punished Metius Pomposianus, for calling his slaves by the illustrious names of Hannibal and Mago. The Athenians enacted a law, that no man should presume to call any of his servants by the names of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, renowned defenders of liberty, who opposed the misrule of the two sons of Pisistratus. The Athenians were also forbidden to derive the names of their slaves from any of the solemn games. For the most part, according to Strabo, they were called after the names of their native countries, as *Λυδός* or *Σύρος*, if they were born in Lydia or Syria; or by the names, which are most used in those nations, as Manes or Midas in Phrygia; Tibias in Paphlagonia. The most common names in Athens were Geta and Davus, being taken from the Getes and Daci. They seldom consisted of above two syllables, and therefore Demosthenes having objected to Aeschines, that his father was a slave, tells him, further as a proof of what he affirmed, that he had falsified his name, calling it Atrometus, when in fact it was Tromes. The reason seems to have been the same as in the case of dogs; a short name being more easy of pronunciation. It was common for slaves who had recovered their freedom, to change their names for those of more syllables. Above all things, especial care was taken that slaves should not wear arms, which, since their number was in general altogether greater than that of the citizens, might have been dangerous to the public. On this account it was not usual for them to serve in wars.¹ Yet in case of extreme danger, it was allowed, and sometimes when there was no such emergency. For the maintenance of security and order at Athens there was a city guard, composed of public slaves.² These persons, though of low rank, enjoyed a certain consideration, as the State employed them in the capacity of constables. These public slaves were also appointed for the trade-police; and subordinate places, such as heralds and checking clerks, together with other offices in the assemblies and courts of justice, were filled by persons of the same description. The public slaves, composed the body-guard of the Athenians. They are generally called bowmen,

¹ — — vix unus Helenor,
Et Lycus elapsi, quorum primaevus Helenor;
Maeonio regi quem serva Licymnia furtim
Sustulerat, *vetitisque* ad Trojam miserat armis.—*Virg. Aen.* 9. 545.

² *δημόσιον*.

or, from the native country of the majority, Scythians, or Speusinians. They lived under tents in the market-place, and afterwards on the Areopagus. Among their number were many Thracians and other barbarians. Their officers had the name of toxarchs. In the first instance, 300 were purchased soon after the battle of Salamis. The number soon rose to 1000 or 1200. These troops might, if necessary, be used in the field. As they were able bodied men, they probably cost three or four minas apiece, and to keep the number good, thirty or forty must have been purchased yearly, costing in all from one to two talents. Their pay was perhaps three oboli a day.¹

A large number of the rowers on board the fleets were slaves. This will not be considered strange, if it be borne in mind that the Spartans brought their Helots with them into the field; that the Thessalian mounted Penestae were bond-men; that a considerable number of slaves were always employed in war as attendants on the army, who were sometimes even manumitted; that slaves were said to have fought as early as at the battle of Marathon, and afterwards at Chaeronea, when the Athenians granted them their liberty. It is remarked as an unusual circumstance, that the seamen of the Paralos were all freemen.² At the successful sea-fight of Arginusae, there were many slaves in the Athenian fleet³; and it equally redounds to the honour of both parties on the one hand, that victory was chiefly owing to the slaves, and on the other, that the Athenians immediately emancipated them, and made them Plataean citizens.⁴ A large number of slaves were considered not as useful only, but as necessary to a State which possessed a naval force. It was only on some pressing emergency that citizens were employed as rowers.

In mining, as in every thing, where labour was necessary, the actual work was performed by slaves. It does not appear that in Greece, free citizens ever laboured in the mines or foundries under the compulsion of tyrants. The Romans condemned the offenders who had been enslaved by public ordinance, to

¹ An obolus was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ cent of our money; a drachma 8 cents; a mina about \$8, and a talent \$480.

² Thucyd. 8. 73.

³ Xenophon, Hell. 1. 6, 17.

⁴ Aristoph. Ran. v. 706.

work in the mines, in the same manner that criminals of this description are now sent by the empèrour of Russia to the mines of Siberia. This method of punishment cannot, however, have existed at Athens, as the community did not carry on any mining at the public expense; nor did it let mines for a term of years together with the labourers, which was only done by private individuals. The master, however, could probably punish his slaves by forcing them to labour in the mines as well as in the mills; and in general none but inferiour slaves were employed in them, such as barbarians and criminals. Their condition was not, indeed, so miserable as that of the slaves in the Egyptian mines, where the condemned labourers worked without intermission until they were so exhausted as to fall senseless; but notwithstanding that in Attica the spirit of freedom had a mild and benevolent influence even on the treatment of slaves, yet myriads of slaves are said to have languished in chains in the unwholesome atmosphere of the mines.¹ As was the case in Italy and Sicily, and has frequently been in modern times, the insurrection of these hordes of slaves was in Greece neither unfrequent, nor unaccompanied with danger. In a fragment of Posidonius, the continuer of the history of Polybius, it is related that the mine-slaves in Attica murdered their guards, took forcible possession of the fortifications of Sunium, and from this point ravaged the country for a considerable time; an occurrence which probably belongs to the end of the 91st Olympiad, about which time, during the war of Decelea more than 20,000 slaves, of whom the greater proportion were manual labourers, escaped from the Athenians.² Of the slaves, who worked in the mines, some belonged to the lessees, and for some a rent was paid to the proprietor, the maintenance being provided by the person who hired them. The price of slaves varied according to their bodily and mental qualities, from half a mina to five and ten minas. A common mining slave, however, did not cost at Athens, more than from three to six minas, and in the age of Demosthenes not more than from 125 to 150 drachmas.

When Nicias, the son of Niceratus, gave a talent for an overseer of his mines, we are to understand a person in whom he might repose entire confidence. For the most part compulsion

¹ Athen. VII. Plutarch comp. Nicias and Crassus init.

² Thucyd. 7. 27.

was the only incentive¹ to labour, and little favour was ever shown to the slaves. By the hiring of slaves, the profit was distributed into various channels, and by this means, persons who would have otherwise been unable to advance capital for so expensive an undertaking, were enabled to engage in the business.¹

Slaves were generally treated at Athens with more humanity than in any other place. Under grievous oppression, they were allowed to fly to the temple of Theseus, whence to force them was an act of sacrilege. Those, who had been barbarously treated by their masters, were allowed the privilege of commencing a suit at law against them. If it appeared that the complaint was reasonable, the master was obliged to sell his slave. Also, if any other citizen did them an injury, they were allowed to vindicate themselves by a course of law. It appears also from the comedies of Plautus, Terence, and Aristophanes, that they enjoyed great freedom of discourse, and had many pleasures which were denied them elsewhere. Demosthenes informs us that the condition of a slave in Athens was preferable to that of a free citizen in some other cities, which remark, allowing for the antithesis of the orator, must have contained some truth. They were sometimes permitted to acquire estates for themselves, and to take shares in the mines on their own account. If they could procure enough to pay for their liberty, no one had any power to hinder them. Sometimes, their masters dismissed them if faithful, of their own accord. On the performance of any remarkable service for the public, the State generally took care to reward them with liberty. Yet they were not advanced to the rank of citizens without great difficulty and opposition. Slaves, as long as they were under the government of a master, were called *οἰκέται*, but after their freedom was granted them, they were named *δοῦλοι*, not being like the former, a part of their master's estate, but only required to render some small services, such as was required of the *μέτοικοι*, to whom in some respects they were inferior.²

Before closing this subject, it will be interesting to inquire

¹ See the Dissertation of Boeckh on the silver mines of Laurion in Attica, originally inserted in the Berlin Transactions.

² Potter's Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 68.

respecting the sentiments of some of the philosophers and authors of Greece on the right and expediency of the institution of slavery. Alcidimas, the scholar of Gorgias of Leontium, has this remark: "All come free from the hands of God; nature has made no man a slave."¹ Philemon says, "Though he is a slave, yet he has the same nature with ourselves. No one was ever born a slave, though his body by misfortune may be brought into subjection."² Menander remarks that slaves ought not to be treated unjustly.³ Aristotle, in his *Politics*, has taken up the subject with his usual scientific nicety. "By some writers," says Aristotle, "that part of economy employed in the management of slaves, has been dignified with the name of science; by others, slavery is considered as an institution altogether unnatural, resulting from the cruel maxims of war. Liberty, they assert, is the great law of nature, which acknowledges not any difference between the slave and the master; slavery is therefore unjust, being founded on violence. But property at large is merely an accumulation of instruments, to be moved and employed for the comfortable subsistence of a family; and even a slave is in this view a moveable instrument, endowed with life, which, impelled by the will of another, communicates motion to other instruments less excellent than himself. Among the instruments subservient to the comfort of human life, there is this material distinction, that the work performed by one class, consists in production; and the work performed by another, is totally consumed in use. A domestic slave is relative to use; his labour is totally consumed in promoting the ease of his master. He is merely the possession and property, or, as it were, the separable part of that master; and every part, whether separable or inseparable, is to be employed, not according to its own caprice or humour, but in subserviency to the general good, and suitably to reason. It is to be regarded simply in relation to that whole or system to which it appertains. A slave is simply the property of his master; but the master stands in many other relations besides that of proprietor to his slaves. Such is the nature of servitude. We proceed to examine whether the institution be wise and just.

¹ Scholiast on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Gillies' *Greece*, Vol. II. p. 337.

² *Fragments of Menander and Philemon*, p. 226.

³ *Ib.* 40.

“To determine this question, it will be sufficient to contemplate the ordinary course of nature, and to deduce from our observations clear inferences of reason. Government and subjection, then, are things useful and necessary; they prevail every where, in animated, as well as in brute matter. From their first origin, some natures are formed to command, and others to obey; the kinds of government and subjection varying with the differences of their objects, but all equally useful for their respective ends; and those kinds the most excellent, from which the most excellent consequences ensue. In compositions endowed with life, it is the province of mind to command, and of matter to obey. Man consists of soul and body, and in all men rightly constituted, the soul commands the body; though some men are so grossly depraved, that in them the body seems to command the soul. But here the order of nature is perverted.¹ Those men, therefore, whose powers are chiefly confined to the body, and whose principal excellence consists in affording bodily service; those, I say, are naturally slaves, because it is their interest to be so. They can obey reason, though they are unable to exercise it; and though different from tame animals, who are disciplined by means merely of their sensations and appetites, they perform nearly the same tasks, and become the property of other men because their own safety requires it.²

In conformity with these observations, nature, we see, has

¹ In this passage, Aristotle's better reason seems to go beyond his theory, and the prejudices of the age in which he lived.

² But who or what shall determine the degree of servility which shall reduce one to the condition of slavery? Who has the power or intelligence to go round with his inkhorn and brand the subject of freedom and slavery respectively? By the adoption of the rule proposed, many of us would be called to grind in the mill. The 20,000 free Athenians might have been sadly diminished. Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, and a few of similar stamp might have escaped. Besides, actual slavery never made such a separation as Aristotle indicates. The fact is wholly the reverse. There were noble men in great numbers, who were toiling on the farms of Laconia, chained to the oars of the fleets, or delving into the mines of Laurion. It was Æsop, Alcman, Epictetus, Terence, who were slaves, while many a brainless free demagogue was haranguing in the forum, or squandering the hard-earned produce of the poor slave, in the house of some fair Milesian.

variously moulded the human frame. Some men are strongly built and firmly compacted; others erect and graceful, unfit for toil and drudgery, but capable of sustaining honourably the offices of war and peace. This, however, holds not universally; for a servile mind is often lodged in a graceful person; and we have often found bodies formed for servitude, animated by the souls of freemen. Yet the distinction itself is not frivolous; for were part of the human race to be arrayed in that splendour of beauty which beams from the statues of the gods, universal consent would acknowledge the rest of mankind naturally formed to be their slaves. The difference of minds, though less obvious, is far more characteristic and important; whence we may conclude that slavery is founded both on utility and justice.

“This decision, however, has been arraigned with considerable plausibility; for slavery may be taken in two senses, in one of which he is a slave, who submits to the laws of war, commanding the vanquished to become the property of the victors. This is acknowledged to be law; but the law itself is accused of iniquity. On this subject, wise men hold different opinions. Some consider superiority as the proof of virtue. While others deny the force of this argument, maintaining that nothing can be truly just, which is inconsistent with humanity. Unjust wars are often successful, by which persons of illustrious merit are reduced to slavery. To avoid this conclusion, the other party propose to limit this law to the case of barbarians vanquished by Greeks; for the nobility of barbarians is confined to their respective countries, but the nobility of Greece is as extensive as the world. But in so doing, they abandon their own principle, and acknowledge the principles which we have established, that slavery adheres to the character itself, and is independent of accident. There are thus two kinds of slavery, the one founded on nature, the other established by law, or rather produced by violence. The first kind can take place only when the master is as fit to command as the slave to obey.¹ It is then profitable both to the slave and master; whose interests rightly understood, become as inseparable as the interests of soul and body.”

¹ This kind of slavery would be extremely rare. It has always been found unsafe to trust men with such power as a master exercises over a slave. It almost inevitably exerts a bad effect on the master. Besides, who is to determine what men are fit to command?

It will thus be seen that the peculiarity of the relation between master and slave, results, according to Aristotle, on the superiority of character in one man over another. The sole condition seems to be that one man knows how to command, and another knows, how to obey. The author shows the mildness of his nature in his advice to masters to secure the fidelity of slaves by the pledges of wives and children, and to indulge them with the enjoyment of festivals and diversions, of which their condition stands more in need than that of freemen. In the treatment of slaves and peasants, he considered it to be exceedingly difficult to hit the middle point between the extremes of indulgence and harshness; that indulgence which is productive of insolence, and that harshness that will be repaid with hatred.

Xenophon, following the example of his master, Socrates, raises no objection against the institution of slavery. Plato, in his Republic, only desires that no Greeks may be reduced to slavery. In the sixth book of his treatise *De Legibus*, he adverts to the question of the expediency of slavery. He says that many slaves have been found superiour in their kindness towards masters, to the brothers and sons of the family, practising all fidelity both in respect to persons and property. On the other hand, he says, that there seems to be nothing in the soul of a slave, which can be a foundation for trustworthiness, verifying the assertion of Homer, that in the day when Jupiter makes slaves of men, he deprives them of half their reason. Alluding to the instances of the Messenians and some of the Italian cities, he remarks that the slaves have caused all manner of disturbances, so that an observer considering such facts would be disposed to denounce the whole system as inexpedient and worthless. He agrees with Aristotle, that it is of the first importance, though very difficult, to preserve, in the treatment of slaves, the due medium between severity on the one hand, and indulgence on the other.

How a thinking and philosophic mind could have failed to have seen the utter incongruity between the boasted freedom of the Greek republics and the iron slavery which they tolerated, seems to us an exceedingly difficult problem. At the time when Demosthenes was uttering his words of fire to the few thousands of free Athenians, stimulating them to rise up against the aggressions of the northern tyrant, as he called Philip, there were 400,000 human beings, whose life and liberty were at the mercy of a most despotic democracy. We shall, however, cease to

wonder, when we reflect on the inconsistencies of human nature. In all ages of the world, the men, who have been most jealous of liberty in their own persons, have been most willing to take it from others. The boon is too sweet to be distributed. The highest zest is given to the enjoyment by contrast. The liberty coveted is that resulting from instant obedience to every species of authority, in other words, the liberty of despotism. If an ancient traveller had wished to have seen the greatest amount of solid happiness, enjoyed by *all* ranks, he must have left republican Sparta and Athens, and visited the *monarchy* of Macedon. We ought, however, to consider that the civil polity of Greece was in general so arranged as, perhaps, to render slavery indispensable. The institutions of Minos, Lycurgus, and Solon, derived, doubtless, in a great measure from Egypt or from some other oriental source, were in many respects fundamentally wrong. They made agriculture, manufactures, mercantile pursuits, and all the useful arts, unpopular. The free citizens were intended either for soldiers, or politicians; the latter oftentimes furnishing employment for the former. Sparta, as has been remarked, was saved by war and ruined by peace. The theory of Lycurgus, in more than one respect, was at war with the human race. He instilled a stoical fortitude into the bosoms of the Spartans, which found no opportunity for exercise, except in enduring the chances of war, or witnessing the anguish of the Helots.

In the numerous wars, which desolated, and finally in conjunction with other causes, ruined the Grecian States, there was one signal alleviation. In the twenty seven years of the Peloponnesian war, along with the various miseries, which it occasioned, it brought very important benefits to the slaves. When all the neighbouring republics were friendly, the slave looked around in vain for refuge from the cruelty of an inhuman master; but if they were hostile, it behoved equally the wealthy despot of many slaves, and the poor tyrant of one, to beware how he set the wretch upon comparing the risk of desertion with the hope of a better service. Even at Athens, where in general, they were better treated than elsewhere, war produced regulations to soften their condition. In the comedy of Aristophanes called the Clouds, (v. 7) we find an old country gentleman of Attica ludicrously execrating the war, because he was no longer allowed to beat his slaves.

The Grecian States suffered one of the most common and

pernicious evils of slavery—the absence of an enlightened and virtuous middle class ;—that part in society, which constitutes its true glory and defence. In Athens, this class of men could not be entrusted with any public office, give their votes in the assemblies, or have any share in the government. They were obliged patiently to submit to all the laws enacted by the citizens. Aristophanes compares them to chaff, as being an unprofitable and useless part of the commonwealth. The women were obliged to carry vessels of water, and also umbrellas to defend the free women from the weather. The men were taxed twelve drachmas annually, and the women six. Upon non-payment of this tax, they were liable to be sold into slavery. Diogenes Laertius was actually sold because he had not wherewithal to pay this tribute. This was a natural effect of the institution of slavery. Almost every species of manual labour was considered degrading because performed by slaves. Emigrants, foreigners, and all those, who were not citizens, were in general compelled to resort to personal labour in order to obtain a subsistence. Consequently in the view of public opinion, they were fit subjects for oppression and insult. They stood between the slaves and freemen, and felt little sympathy for either, and in case of an insurrection, took part with the strongest. It was a grand defect in the Grecian forms of government, that they did not adequately provide for all the classes in the community. A large part of the population was cut off from all sympathy with the country. Where slaves abound, rich men can dispense with the labour of the poor, while the poor profit, in no way, from the prosperity of the rich. The consequences of this state of things forms one of the most prominent features of Grecian history.

Greece was at length absorbed in the Roman empire. Subsequently, the Roman slave trade, in that part of the world, seems to have been mainly carried on at Delos. That island rose into importance, as a commercial place, after the fall of Corinth, and grew an *entrepôt*, for trade of every sort, between the East and West, but principally for that in slaves. It was resorted to by the Romans more than by any other people, and the slave trade, which they encouraged, was so brisk, that the port became proverbial for such traffic, and was capable, says Strabo, of importing and re-exporting 10,000 slaves in a single day. The Cilician pirates made Delos the great staple for the sale of their captives, which was a very gainful part of their oc-

cupation. Delos ceased to be the great mart, after the Mithridatic war; and it seems probable, that, afterwards, the slave trade was transferred to the various ports nearest those countries, whence the slaves came; and, therefore, perhaps, to the cities upon the Euxine, to which the Romans might not have made direct voyages at an earlier time. Corinth was long the chief slave mart of Greece, and, from its situation, was likely to have much communication with the ports on the eastern side of Italy; but we meet with no authority for believing, that the Romans resorted much thither for slaves, or other commodities, before their conquest of Greece.

In the epistles of Paul to the Grecian churches, there are a few allusions to slavery. Many of the poor *choenix-measurers* of Corinth, weary and heavy laden, doubtless welcomed with great eagerness, the doctrines of the gospel. Though among the foolish and weak, and despised things of that luxurious metropolis, yet God chose them to be the freemen of the heavenly city. The instructions which Paul gave to them were of this tenour: "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant (*δοῦλος*)? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman; likewise, he that is called being free, is Christ's servant. Ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men. Brethren, let every man wherein he is called, therein abide with God."¹ The exhortation which Paul gives to the Thessalonians respecting manual labour, shows what class of the community he was addressing.² The same apostle directs Titus, who had been left in Crete, where peasants and slaves, bearing the name of Periaeci, Clarotae, and Mnoitae, had existed from the earliest times, to "exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again, but showing all good fidelity; that they may adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things."³ The apostle here adverts to those vices, to which slaves in all ages, have been peculiarly addicted—pilfering and petulance. The maid at Philippi, who had the spirit of divination, or of a

¹ 1 Cor. 7: 20—24.

² 1. Thess. 4: 11. 2 Thess. 3: 10, 11, 12.

³ Titus 2: 9, 10. also Aristotle's Politics, bk. 2.

soothsaying demon, and who was very profitable to her masters, was doubtless a slave.¹

There does not seem to have been any material difference on the whole, between the treatment experienced by the slaves under the Grecian and the Roman governments. The Helots might have enjoyed some advantages from the fact that they were the property of the State, and lived away from the immediate controul of masters, in a condition somewhat similar to that of the serfs of modern Russia, yet they were liable to the horrible *cryptia*. Previously to the reign of Antoninus Pius, the slave at Rome was much less protected by law and public feeling than the slave at Athens. At Sparta, slaves seem to have had hardly any hopes of ever being admitted amongst freemen. At Athens, emancipation was frequent; but the privileges of citizens rarely followed, even to a limited extent, and were conferred by public authority only. At Rome, the lowest slave could always look forward to manumission, and to obtaining the rank of a citizen, through the sole will of his master. Still, the Romans, like the Greeks, never came so far from the original view, of slaves being the absolute property of their owner, as to consider the master's rights limited to the unpaid services of the slave, and his powers restricted, to those of a domestic magistrate, for correction of slight misconduct, and for enforcement of obedience and exertion.²

The effect of Christianity, in meliorating the usage of slaves, though not sudden, was important. The various Christian emperours issued decrees, abridging the power of masters, and raising slaves above the level of insentient creatures. The church openly condemned the barbarous treatment of slaves. Clemens Alexandrinus in the close of the second century, forbade the bishop to accept the oblations of cruel and sanguinary masters. At last Justinian did most to encourage improvement in the condition of bondmen, and to promote the ultimate extinction of slavery.³

¹ Acts 16: 16.

² See William Blair's *Inquiry into the State of Slavery among the Romans*, London 1833. Also Dunlop's *History of Roman Literature*.

³ Gibbon's *Hist. Decline and Fall*, chap. 44.

ARTICLE VI.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

By the Editor.

THE possessions of Great Britain in and around the gulf of Mexico cannot fail to be objects of great interest to the inhabitants of the United States. They lie close upon our borders. The channels of communication are numerous and unobstructed. Exchanges in articles of commerce are varied and of great importance. The colonies are now, as we were once, dependencies of an European State. In addition, the climate, scenery, natural productions, and, particularly, certain classes of the population, present striking points of analogy to the Southern portions of this country. The sympathies between the coloured inhabitants of the two regions must become more and more quick and extensive. Moral and political changes in the West Indies must exert a gradual but finally a great effect on the servile population of this Union. No legal enactments, no armed cordon around Florida can prevent it. News of the progress of freedom will fly faster than civil proclamations. Human sympathies cannot be blocked up by negotiations nor by ships of war. Rumours of this sort will float on the winds of heaven.

Besides, one of the most interesting experiments ever witnessed on the earth, is now in the first processes of development. On the first of August 1834, a great number of human beings in the West Indies ceased to be slaves. They are now the subjects of written laws, of a free constitution, and of a limited monarchy, instead of an irresponsible will, and of a grinding bondage. This great change was effected too, not as in the case of Hayti, by the sword of civil and servile war, but by moral influence perseveringly exerted. In carrying the emancipation-bill through parliament, the British nation exhibited a far nobler spectacle, than in conquering the hundred millions of Eastern India, or in staying, on the fields of Belgium, the modern despot, or even in carrying her representative reform through fierce opposition to full success. It was a great achievement of philanthropy, wrought out before the civilized world. Still, the experiment is only in its inceptive stage. The negroes are yet,

in many respects, in bondage. The mind is to be disenthralled. The will is to be tutored, and rendered capable of self-government. The affections are to be purified and elevated by the benign influences of Christianity. We shall watch with great interest the progress of the change. We shall look for some interesting phenomena in the philosophy of the human mind and character. The popular theories of African imbecility will either receive confirmation, or be put to flight. There is good sense and christian benevolence enough in Great Britain to supply all needed intellectual and moral apparatus, so that there shall be no failure, unless it result from the intrinsic feebleness and perversity of the African intellect. At the same time, we must wait with patience. Nations cannot be renovated in a day. The conjoined influence of African superstition, and of an iron servitude, extending through several generations, with all its accompanying sensuality and debasement, cannot be broken up at once. The gospel itself, without miraculous interference, is not adequate to the work of revolutionizing instantaneously, the intellectual and moral nature of man. African intellect is in a dead calm. No signs of life, it may be, pervade the inert mass. More than one or two generations must pass away before the children of Ethiopia can stand on a level with the Anglo-Saxons. How slow was the improvement of the ancestors of these very Anglo-Saxons, for several generations after they emerged from the forests of Germany; and that too, under all the advantages of a temperate climate, and of the excitements growing out of war and of a piratical commerce?

This subject it will be seen, is one of permanent interest, and is well deserving of a place in the pages of the Repository and Observer. It is our intention, as far as possible, to make this publication a store-house of matters of enduring interest and value, not only in respect to biblical and classical literature, but in regard to political philosophy, and human improvement in general. For these reasons, we proceed to embody some of the more important facts and statements concerning the British West Indies.

It is the recorded tradition of Plato, and of other ancient writers, that at a period of time indefinitely remote, there existed a vast insular territory, stretching beyond the coasts of Africa and Europe, which bore the appellation of *Atlantis*; and that for three days this western land was shaken to its founda-

tions by the incessant and hourly concussions of an earthquake, when at length it yielded to some mysterious power, and sunk with its immense population into the bosom of the ocean. In subsequent times, pieces of curiously carved wood, large jointed reeds, and trees of a kind unknown in Europe, were picked up to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, and at the Azores after long continued westerly winds. At Flores, the bodies of two human beings were washed ashore, whose colour and features were distinct from those of any men, who had before been known. Urged by these and by some sound geographical reasonings, Christopher Columbus sailed from Palos, Spain, on the 3d of August, 1492, and on the 12th of October discovered San Salvador, one of the Bahamas. Cuba was the next island of importance discovered; subsequently, Hispaniola, Trinidad, Jamaica, Porto Rico, etc. For some years, the Spaniards were left in almost undisturbed possession of these islands, many of which they had colonized, but the French and English soon began to molest them. The first English vessels seen in the West Indies, were two ships of war, under Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert, vice admiral of England, in 1517. They touched on the coast of Brazil, and then proceeded to Hispaniola and Porto Rico. The first trading English vessel which visited the islands, arrived at Porto Rico, in 1519, being, as was said by the captain, sent by the king to ascertain the state of those islands, of which there was so much talk in Europe. The Spaniards at St. Domingo fired on her and compelled her to return to Porto Rico. The governour blamed them for not sinking her, and preventing any dissemination in England of a knowledge of the West Indies. An English fleet under the command of captain Hawkins, visited the West Indies in 1565; another, in 1572, under Francis Drake; and a third, in 1595, under Sir Walter Raleigh. Barbadoes was the first territory colonized by the British, having been occupied by the servants of Sir William Courteen, in 1624.

When Columbus first discovered the new world, he found the continent, and every island, however small, densely peopled with a mild, and generous race of men, (not the Caribs) with skins of a copper or light bronze colour, long silky black hair, finely formed limbs, and pleasing features; in some instances warlike, and considerably civilized; in others, living in luxurious idleness, under the evervating effects of a tropical climate. Within a few short years after the discovery of the Islands by

the Spanish, the natives were swept from the earth, like leaves from an autumnal forest. Countless myriads sank into an untimely grave, through the murderous avarice of the Spanish adventurers. Bensoni states that of 2,000,000 Indians in the island Hispaniola, when discovered by Columbus, in 1492, not more than *one hundred and fifty* were alive in 1545! The Indians in Cuba to avoid working in the mines, destroyed themselves in great numbers, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Spaniards to prevent them. The men, women, and children of a village, containing 50 houses, were found at daylight all hanging to the trees. Within three years after the death of Columbus, i. e. in 1509, the Spanish Court divided the Darien government between Alfonso d' Ojeda and Diego Niecuesa, authorizing them jointly and severally to make what use they pleased of the unoccupied island of Jamaica as a garden, whence provisions might be obtained, and as a nursery whence *slaves* might be procured to work in the mines. The result of such orders in such times may be easily imagined; a contest arose between the provincial governours, who should make the most of the unfortunate islanders and their country. Towns and villages were laid waste and burned; the slightest resistance was returned with indiscriminate slaughter; the caciques or chiefs murdered in cold blood; the women, who tempted the passions of the invaders, became victims to their sensuality; and tortures of the most horrid nature were resorted to for the purpose of forcing a disclosure of that which the Spaniards eagerly thirsted for—gold. In 1558, it is stated that the native inhabitants of Jamaica had entirely perished, and the Spaniards cultivated the land in the neighbourhood of St. Jago de la Vega, by means of the few slaves which they were enabled to purchase. Gage, writing in 1637, says, “This island was once very populous, but is now almost destitute of Indians, for the Spaniards have slain in it more than 60,000; insomuch that women, as well here as on the continent, did kill their children, before they had given them birth, that they might not in any way serve so cruel a nation.” When the Spaniards took possession of Trinidad in 1588, the Indians fell a sacrifice to the same cupidity and bigotry, which made a desert of Jamaica. They drafted off to the mines those who escaped a more sanguinary death by fire or the sword.

In order that our subsequent observations may be better un-

derstood, we will now proceed to give a few geographical and other details respecting each of the islands and dependencies.

Guiana. British Guiana, embracing the settlements on the rivers Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice, and covering an area of nearly 100,000 square miles, extends above 200 miles from east to west, along that alluvial portion of the South American continent, termed the Main, which is formed by the delta of the Amazon and Orinoco, having for its boundaries on the east the mouth of the river Courantyn, in lat. $6^{\circ} 10'$ north, long. $56^{\circ} 2'$ west; on the west the boundaries of Colombia, between the Baryma and Pomeroon rivers, about lat. 8° north, long. 60° west; to the southward, it extends about 100 leagues, or perhaps to a mountain range, extending to within two degrees of the equator. As early as 1580, the Dutch attempted to form small settlements along this coast. In 1581, the States General of Holland permitted certain individuals to trade to the coast. Essequibo, was taken by the English, and afterwards plundered by the French; but both were expelled from the Dutch settlements, in the following year, by an expedition from Holland. A most disastrous negro insurrection took place in Berbice in 1763, from which the colony was not relieved until after eleven months' desolation, and only then by the arrival of a strong squadron from Holland. Since 1803, these settlements have belonged to great Britain. In 1812, all distinctions between the colonies of Essequibo and Demerara were abolished, and the name of the capital was changed from Stacbrook to Georgetown. In 1814, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were finally ceded to Great Britain, with the condition that the Dutch proprietors should have liberty, under certain regulations, to trade with Holland. The year 1818 witnessed the first introduction of trial by jury and the commission of *oyer and terminer*. A serious insurrection of the slaves took place on the east of the Demerara river, in 1823, which was finally suppressed; Rev. John Smith, a missionary of the London Society, was condemned to death for the alleged but unproved accusation of inciting the slaves to rebellion. His sentence was commuted at home to total banishment from the West Indies. He died in prison pending the sentence. In 1831, the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice were united into one government, and called British Guiana. The country offers a fruitful field

for the industry of the emigrant, the enterprise of the merchant and the researches of men of science. Millions of acres of fertile land, now lying waste, are adapted to the cultivation of every tropical product, of which the mother country stands in need.

Jamaica. Jamaica, or as it was called by the Indians, Xay-maca, is an island 160 miles long and 45 broad, containing 4,000,000 acres. It is situated between the parallels of $17^{\circ} 35'$ and $18^{\circ} 30'$ north lat., and 76° and $78^{\circ} 40'$ west long., 4000 miles south west of England, 90 miles west of St. Domingo, the same distance south of Cuba, and 435 miles north of Carthagená, on the South American continent. It was discovered by Columbus on the morning of the 3d of May, 1494, during his second expedition to the new world. The first permanent settlement was made in 1509 by Diego Columbus, the son of the great navigator, who despatched Don Juan d' Esquimel, with seventy men, for this purpose. This party formed a settlement at Santa Gloria. In 1580, owing to the junction of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, the territorial right of Jamaica was vested in the royal house of Braganza, and the Portuguese, who emigrated to the island, gave new life to the settlement. Little is known of the internal history of the island up to the period of the British conquest in 1655. At that time, there were only about 1500 Spanish and Portuguese, with an equal number of mulattoes and slaves. Jamaica was attacked by a force of 6,500 Englishmen, sent out by Oliver Cromwell, on the 3d of May 1655, after having been one hundred and forty six years in the possession of Spain. It was taken with but little resistance. Under the government of Colonel D' Oyley, Jamaica became the head quarters of the pirates or buccaneers, who infested these seas, and derived inordinate wealth from the plunder of the Spanish colonies and fleets. The tables and household utensils of the colonists were of silver and gold, and their horses were sometimes shod with silver. In 1659, the population of the island was rated at 4,500 whites, and 1,400 negroes. In 1664, the first assembly of Jamaica was convened by the lieutenant governour. It consisted of 30 members. This early establishment of a popular legislative assembly was attended with signal advantages. For 64 years, it carried on a contest to secure the means of defending itself

against the crown, and for controlling the expenditure of its own supplies. In 1684, the first insurrection of the negroes occurred. It was however soon suppressed. On the 7th of June, 1692, at mid-day, 3000 of the inhabitants of Port Royal were swallowed up by an earthquake. An epidemic followed, which carried off 3000 more. In 1698, the population amounted to 7365 whites and 40,000 negroes. The year 1760 witnessed one of the desperate insurrections of the slaves, which ended in the destruction of the greater part of the insurgents. Ninety white persons fell in the rebellion, 400 of the rebel negroes were slain. Many destroyed themselves in the woods rather than fall into the hands of their former masters, and 600 were transported to Honduras. The number of slaves *annually* imported about this period, amounted to 16,000. The Maroon war brought on by the intemperate policy of the earl of Balcarras, in 1795, ended in the destruction of the lives of many brave men, and in the removal of the surviving Maroons to Nova Scotia and subsequently to Sierra Leone. Jamaica is ruled by a governour, or captain general, appointed by the crown, aided by a council of twelve, somewhat similar to the British house of lords; and a house of assembly answering to the British house of commons. The council is generally appointed by the king, through the secretary of state for the colonies, from among the most respectable colonists, who are *ex officio* justices of the peace. The lieutenant governour, chief justice, attorney general, and the bishop, are all *ex officio* members of the council, each member of which is removed at the pleasure of the king. The assembly consists of 45 members, each of the parishes sending two representatives, and Spanish-Town, Kingston, and Port Royal one additional member each. A representative must possess a free hold of £300 per annum. The council and general assembly, with the concurrence of the king, or his representative, the governour, may make laws, statutes and ordinances for the public peace and welfare. The king and parliament do not impose any duty payable in the colonies except for the regulation of commerce, the produce whereof is not applied to the use of the colony in which it is levied. The present governour is the marquis of Sligo; his salary is £5,500. The total expenses for 1831 was £370,000, of which the clergy of the established church received £23,593.

Trinidad. This island is very favourably situated for commerce, maritime strength, and political importance at the mouths of the Orinoco. It is in lat. $9^{\circ} 30'$ to $10^{\circ} 15'$ north, and long. $60^{\circ} 30'$ to $61^{\circ} 20'$ west. It is separated from the province of Cumana, on the South American continent, by the gulf of Paria; it is 90 miles long by 50 broad, with an area of 2400 square miles, or 1,536,000 acres. According to the opinion of some it was named Trinidad, after the Holy Trinity. It became a British colony in 1797, having been taken from the Spanish by admiral Harvey and general Abercrombie. The fertility of the soil, its magnificent vegetation, beautiful rivers, forests of palms, groves of citrons, hedges of spices and perfumes, its succulent roots, delicious herbs and fruits, abundant and nourishing food, its fine skies and atmosphere have given to Trinidad the name of *the Indian Paradise*. The government is nearly despotic, though nominally vested in part in an executive and legislative committee. The executive council consists of three *official* members, the colonial secretary, colonial treasurer and attorney general, selected from the legislative councils. They are merely counsellors of the governour, who may follow their advice or not as he pleases. The legislative council consists of twelve members, six of whom hold their office and salaries at the pleasure of the crown. No measure can be proposed to the committee which the governour objects to.

Tobago. Tobago, or Tobacco, has been termed the "*Melancholy Isle*," because when viewed from the north, it seems to be only a mass of lofty, gloomy mountains, with bleak precipices, descending abruptly to the sea; on a nearer approach, the island exhibits a very irregular aspect; it is principally composed of conical hills, of basaltic formation. It is the most southerly of the Caribbee Islands, six miles east of Trinidad, and 72 west of Grenada. It is 32 miles long and 12 broad, with an area of 44 square miles. Lat. $11^{\circ} 16'$ north, long. $60^{\circ} 30'$ west. It was discovered by Columbus in 1496. In 1580, the British flag was planted on the island. In 1654, some Dutch merchants formed a permanent settlement on the island. After various alternations between contending powers, the island was taken from the French, in March 1793, by general Cuyler, for Great Britain, in whose possession it has remained ever since. Tobago is ruled by a governour, council and house of assembly, whose powers and authority are similar to those of Jamaica.

Grenada. The general aspect of Grenada is extremely lovely, but mountainous and picturesque. The interior and north west coast consist of piles of conical hills, some of them rising to the height of 3000 feet. It is the most southerly of the Antilles. Lat. $12^{\circ} 20'$ and $11^{\circ} 58'$ north, long. $61^{\circ} 20'$ and $61^{\circ} 35'$ west, 60 miles from Tobago, length 25 miles, breadth 12; 80,000 acres. It was discovered by Columbus in 1498. It remained for a century in peaceable possession of the natives. In 1650, the French governour of Martinique invaded the island, and committed horrible atrocities. A colony was established on the ruins of the native population. Grenada was finally ceded to Great Britain in 1763. A legislative assembly was granted by England, and the Grenadians resisted the imposition of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent duties. The crown persisting in its claim, issue was joined before the judges of the court of King's Bench in England. The case was elaborately argued four several times. In 1774, lord chief justice Mansfield pronounced judgment *against the crown*. The duty in question was abolished, not only in Grenada, but in Dominica, St. Vincent's and Tobago. In 1795, an insurrection occurred, which was not put down, till the lapse of a year and a half. The island is in general fertile, and well cultivated. Eight of the principal estates are now cultivated in sugar. The people are ruled by a lieutenant governour, council and house of assembly, whose powers are similar to those described in Jamaica. The council consists of 12 members, and the assembly of 26.

St. Vincent's. The character of this island is decidedly volcanic. The mountains are bold, sharp, and abrupt in their terminations, with deep intervening glens, and bounded by a lofty and rocky coast. It is about $18\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, and 11 broad, containing 84,286 acres, nearly equidistant from Grenada and Barbadoes. Lat. $13^{\circ} 10'$ north, long. $60^{\circ} 37'$ west. It was discovered by Columbus Jan. 22, 1498. The native Caribs remained nearly undisturbed till 1719, when the French sent over some settlers from Martinique, a few of whom succeeded in establishing themselves. In 1763, the island was ceded in perpetuity to Great Britain. In 1779, it was taken by the French. In 1790, a dreadful hurricane occurred, which destroyed a great part of the buildings on the island. In 1783, it was restored to Great Britain. In 1795, a sanguinary insurrection took place, which lasted two years. In 1812,

it suffered from an eruption of the Souffriere, a volcanic mountain. It also was devastated by the hurricane of 1831. The government of the island is composed of the governor, council and assembly; the former is chancellor, ordinary and vice admiral. The council consists of 12 members, mostly appointed through the influence of the governor. The assembly consists of 19 members. The three branches assimilate their proceedings as nearly as possible to those of Great Britain.

Barbadoes. This ancient colony is situated at the south east extremity of the great American Archipelago, in lat. $13^{\circ} 5'$ north, long. $59^{\circ} 41'$ west, extending 22 miles in length and 14 in breadth, with a surface of 106,470 acres. Though generally level, except in the north east quarter, called Scotland, which is about 1100 feet above the sea, it has a very beautiful appearance, owing to its extensive cultivation, and sloping fields or terraces. It is probably of volcanic origin. Bridgetown, the capital, has about 20,000 houses. The island remained unknown for a century after the discoveries of Columbus. The first indication of its existence in the charts of European navigators was in 1600. The settlement of a town was commenced in 1625, by Sir William Courteen, an English merchant. In 1645, the island was divided into four parishes, a general assembly instituted, composed of two deputies elected in each parish from the majority of freeholders, a church built in each parish and a minister appointed. In 1649, a formidable insurrection of the slaves took place, and a day was fixed on for the massacre of all the white inhabitants. Of the leading negroes, 28 were gibbeted. In 1780, Barbadoes was ravaged by a terrific hurricane, which lasted 48 hours, and devastated the island. The loss of lives amounted to 3000, and of property to £1,018,928. Hurricanes, earthquakes, and slave insurrections make up the principal features of the latter years of the history of Barbadoes. The government is similar to that of Jamaica.

St. Lucia. Lat. $13^{\circ} 50'$ north, long. $60^{\circ} 58'$ west, 32 miles long, 12 broad, containing 37,500 acres of land. It is divided longitudinally by a ridge of lofty hills. It was discovered on St. Lucia's day, and was first settled by the English about 1635. It has experienced the fortunes of war in a remarkable degree. It is now an English colony, with a French population, manners, and language. Affairs are administered by a governor and council, with French laws.

Dominica. Dominica is one of the volcanic isles of the west, with lofty, rugged mountains, and fertile intervening valleys, watered by about thirty fine rivers. It was considered by England, France, and Spain as a neutral island till 1759, when it fell under the dominion of Great Britain. Large quantities of free stone are imported. Lat. $15^{\circ} 25'$ north, long. $61^{\circ} 15'$ west, 29 miles in length, and 16 in breadth, 186,436 acres. There is a lieutenant governour, a council of twelve, and a representative legislative assembly of nineteen members to administer the affairs of the colonists.

Montserrat. Lat. $16^{\circ} 47'$ north, long. $62^{\circ} 13'$ west. Length 12 miles; breadth $7\frac{1}{2}$; 30,000 acres. The island was discovered and named Montserrat, by the sailors of Columbus, a name indicative, in the Spanish, of its broken and mountainous appearance. From the peculiar elasticity of its atmosphere, and the grandeur of its mountains, it is called the Montpellier of the West. The executive is embodied in the government of Antigua, but the islanders enjoy their separate council and house of assembly, the former consisting of six members, and the latter of eight.

Antigua. This island is nearly of an oval shape, with an extremely irregular coast, and indented with numerous bays. No island in the West Indies can boast so many good harbours. It was discovered by Columbus, in 1493, and named by him from a church in Seville. It was colonized by Sir Thomas Warner, with a few English families, in 1632. The government of Antigua consists of a governour, legislative council, and house of assembly. The latter has a speaker and 25 members, representing the capital, St. Johns, and the six parishes into which the island is divided. The governour of Antigua is also commander in chief of Montserrat, Barbuda (a small island, with 1500 inhabitants,) St. Christopher's, Nevis, Anguilla, the Virgin Islands, and Dominica.

St. Christopher's, or St. Kitt's. Lat. $17^{\circ} 18'$ north, $62^{\circ} 40'$ west, 68 square miles, named after the great navigator by whom it was discovered in 1493. It was settled by Sir Thomas Warner in 1633, with fourteen Londoners. There is a lieutenant governour, council and house of assembly.

Nevis. This island was first colonized by Warner with a few Englishmen in 1628. It is separated from St. Kitt's by a

strait about two miles broad. It is a single mountain, 4 miles in length, 3 in breadth, with an area of 20 square miles. Its government is like that of St. Christopher's.

Anguilla. Lat. 18° north, long. 64° west. Length 30 miles, breadth 3; from its shape called Anguilla or Snake Island. It was discovered and colonized by the English, in 1650, in whose possession it has ever since remained.

Tortola and the Virgin Islands. The Virgin Islands, so named by Columbus, on discovery in 1492, in honour of the 11,000 virgins in the Romish ritual, are a cluster of lofty islets and rocks, 50 in number, to the north-west of the Leeward Islands, about 72 miles from east to west, and 48 from north to south. Tortola, the capital, is in $18^{\circ} 20'$ north lat., and $64^{\circ} 39'$ west long. The Virgin Islands are divided between the British, Danes and Spaniards, the east division belonging to the British. They are under the government of St. Kitt's. Tortola has a council and assembly of its own.

The Bahamas. This group of islands, reefs, and quays, termed the Lucayos (or keys) or Bahamas, extend in a crescent-like form, $27^{\circ} 50'$ north lat., and $79^{\circ} 5'$ west long., a distance of about 600 miles. San Salvador, one of these islands, was the first land, discovered in the new world. The Bahamas were then densely peopled by a mild Indian race, who were soon shipped off to work in the mines of Mexico. In the beginning of the last century, the Bahamas became a rendezvous for pirates. They have been in possession of England since 1783. None of the islets are elevated, all being evidently the work of the coral insect. The government of the Bahamas is modelled after that of England.

The Bermudas. The Bermudas, or Somer Islands, more than 300 in number, lie in the Atlantic ocean, in lat. $32^{\circ} 20'$ north, long. $64^{\circ} 50'$ west, about 600 miles east of South Carolina, the nearest point of North America, and containing about 14,000 acres of land. They were discovered in 1522, by J. Bermudez, a Spaniard, who found them uninhabited. Sir George Somers was wrecked upon them in 1609, and made his way to Virginia, in a vessel, constructed of cedar. The islands were settled shortly after from Virginia and England. They have remained in the uninterrupted possession of England, and have attracted great attention from their salubrity and picturesque

scenery. The climate is favourable to European health, and may be said to be a perpetual summer. The palmetto is much celebrated in the making of straw hats, but arrow root seems to be the staple of the islands. The colonists have their own legislative assembly and council.

Honduras. The British settlement of Honduras, in the province of Yucatan, is situated in the southern part of the North American continent, between the parallels of 17° and 19° north lat., and 88° and 90° west long. on a peninsula, northwardly forming the bay of Campeachy, and westerly the bay of Honduras. The whole settlement embraces an area of 62,750 square miles. The Honduras coast was discovered by Columbus in 1502. At first it was occasionally resorted to by mahogany and other wood-cutters. The first *regular* establishment of British log-wood cutters, was made at lake Cartoche, by some Jamaica adventurers, whose numbers increased so that in a short time they occupied the country as far south, as the river Balize. Difficulties, resulting sometimes in open hostilities, have occurred between the English and Spanish. Since 1798, the English have maintained an undisturbed possession. The government of the colony is vested in a superintendent, nominated by the crown, and a mixed legislative and executive power, termed the magistrates of Honduras, by whom enactments are made; which, on receiving the assent of the representative, become laws. The magistrates are seven in number, elected annually by the inhabitants. In 1830, the exports of mahogany were 4,556,986 feet. In 1826, 30,171 feet of cedar, and 358,552 pounds of indigo were exported. The fertile soil yields two harvests in a year, producing maize, chiappa pepper, balsam, vanilla, cotton, indigo, cocoa, cochineal, brazil wood, and the most delicious fruits. The most valuable drugs, balsams, and aromatic plants grow wild; and the achiote, amber, copal, dragon's blood, mastic, and almácigo, are every where to be gathered.

We now proceed to furnish a brief sketch of the introduction of African Slavery into the West Indies. In 1558, queen Elizabeth granted an exclusive charter for ten years to a company to trade from the northernmost part of Senegal to the southernmost part of Gambia. It does not appear, however, that she was aware of the nature of the traffic which was about to be pursued. In

1562, Sir John Hawkins, the celebrated admiral, in his earliest voyage to Africa, was the first Englishman who brought slaves from the coast. By deception, he procured the sanction of the queen to his proceedings. Charles I, in the seventh year of his reign, granted to Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Richard Young, and sundry merchants, the sole enjoyment of the trade to Guinea, Benin, and Angola, between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope, for 31 years; and for that purpose erected them by charter into a company. In 1651, the parliament granted a charter to carry on this trade for 5 years to the East India Company, who erected two new forts. In 1662, Charles II granted an exclusive right to this trade to a company of royal adventurers, who undertook to supply the West India planters with 3,000 slaves annually. They were so reduced by war, misconduct, &c. that in 1672, they gave up their charter to a new company for the consideration of £34,000. The last company were incorporated by the name of the Royal African Company, to have exclusive privileges from South Barbary to the Cape of Good Hope inclusive, and for the term of 1000 years. In the 10th year of William and Mary, other persons were allowed to trade on the coast, provided they bore a part in the expenses of the company. In the 23d year of George II, an act was passed, which declares the African trade to be very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for supplying the plantations and colonies with a sufficient number of negroes at reasonable rates, and that for such purposes, the trade ought to be open to all his majesty's subjects. It therefore enacts that it shall be lawful for all the subjects of the realm to trade in such manner, and with such goods as they pleased at any place from the port of Sallee to the Cape of Good Hope. In subsequent years a great number of modifications were made in the arrangements of this traffic. As might be expected, it was the source of innumerable perplexities and great embarrassments. The British government, however, continued to exhibit the most *paternal* care of these honourable traffickers in the souls of men. By the treaty of Utrecht, the *asiento*, a contract, by which the royal Guinea Company settled in France had undertaken to supply the Spaniards with negroes at a concerted price, was transferred to the English, and a new instrument was signed in May, 1713, to last thirty years, by which England bound herself to send 4,800 negroes yearly to Spanish America. In 1689, ten of the English judges gave it as their opinion "that negroes are merchan-

dize." In 1760, South Carolina, then a British colony, passed an act to prohibit further importation of slaves, but England ejected this act with indignation, and declared that the slave trade "was necessary and beneficial to the mother country." The governor, who was concerned in it, was reprimanded, and a circular was sent to all the other governors, warning them against a similar offence. In 1765, however, the colonies repeated the offence, and a bill was twice read in the assembly of Jamaica for the same purpose of limiting the importation of slaves, when Great Britain stayed it, through the governor of that island, who convened the assembly and informed them, that, consistently with his instructions, he could not give his assent; upon which the bill was dropped. In 1774, the assembly of Jamaica again passed two bills to restrain the trade; but Great Britain again resisted the restriction. Bristol and Liverpool petitioned against it. The matter was referred to the Board of trade, and that Board reported in opposition to it. The colonies, by the agent of Jamaica, remonstrated against that report, and pleaded against it on all the grounds of justice and humanity; but Great Britain, through the earl of Dartmouth, then President of the Board of trade, answered as follows: "we cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation." This was in 1774. The slave-trade proceeded with unabated ferocity from that period, till its abolition in 1807, and indeed, subsequently, by clandestine means. During the 16 years previous to the abolition, 150,000 slaves were imported into the single island of Jamaica.

Respecting the actual condition of the slaves in the British West Indies, the accounts are exceedingly contradictory. The West India merchants in England, the planters, and a majority of travellers, have represented the condition of the slaves as in most respects favourable to their happiness. But whatever mitigating circumstances might have existed in particular cases, it is quite evident that an enormous degree of cruelty and suffering was essentially connected with the system. The debasement, which it produced, was probably more severe than that caused by slavery in any other portion of the earth. The owners of the estates, in a great majority of cases, resided in England, and never took actual cognizance for any length of time of the real state of their plantations. The overseers, and drivers, to whom the estates were entrusted, might be trustworthy and humane men, or they might not be. From the nature of the

case, they would be tempted to overwork the slaves, in order that the estates might yield as large an annual product as possible. In many cases, they were mere mercenaries, to whose care, human life and limbs ought never to have been committed. Another unfortunate circumstance was the kind of employment to which multitudes were subjected, viz. that on sugar plantations, which is universally allowed to be of the most exhausting description. About 200,000 tons of sugar were produced in 1814, in the British West Indies. Coupling the severe and intense toil required in some branches of this department, with the heat of the climate and the natural disposition to languor and idleness, found to prevail among slaves, the inquirer will perceive that it necessarily tends to the destruction of human life. The following table, showing the decrease of the slaves in the sugar colonies, is decisive as to the point.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| Antigua, decrease in 11 years, | 868 |
| Berbice, " 9 " | 1,578 |
| Demerara, " 12 " | 12,037 |
| Grenada, " 12 " | 2,515 |
| Jamaica, " 12 " | 18,024 |
| Montserrat, " 11 " | 131 |
| Nevis, " 11 " | 192 |
| St. Kitt's, " 10 " | 100 |
| St. Lucia, " 13 " | 1,942 |
| St. Vincent's, " 10 " | 1,248 |
| Tobago, " 10 " | 2,863 |
| Tortola, " 10 " | 143 |
| Trinidad, " 13 " | 6,168 |

Total decrease in the above 13 colonies, the average being a little more than 11 years, 47,749. The cause of this decrease could not have been soil, or climate, or any thing peculiar to the African character, or to those countries, because, if it were, it would have extended, (as it did not) to the free people as well as to the slaves. It was not war, nor pestilence, nor famine, nor any great national convulsion, or mortality; because, if it had been, it would also have extended to the free people. The evil must have been something peculiar to the slaves; nor did it extend, in an equal degree, to all the slaves; the domestics and mechanics increased; the slaves on the coffee-plantations, in many instances, also, increased; but the full weight of this disease, so fatal to human life, fell on the slaves in the

sugar-plantations, who worked in the field-gangs at night. A reference to the state of Hayti will illustrate the point. Bryan Edwards, in his history of the West Indies, informs us that there was an importation of 150,000 slaves into Hayti, in the ten years immediately preceding the revolution; and yet we learn that it could not maintain its numbers. In 1804, its independence was established; the population then was 400,000, or 423,000. An official return was made in 1824, when it was 935,000.

It thus appears that in eleven years, the diminution of human life caused by the cultivation of sugar alone by means of slave labour, was nearly 50,000 souls. What must have been the waste of life for the two hundred years in which the system has lasted, taking into view all the other results of slavery, additional to those caused by the cultivation of sugar? The immoral and ruinous effects of the system are seen in this way in a much more striking light than by looking at insulated instances of suffering.

Another prominent point in the consideration of West Indian slavery was the great number of parties and conflicting interests. In the first place, there was the British government, on the whole favourable, especially of late years, to the abolition of slavery, but cautious in its movements, wavering in its decisions, and at last pressed on to a determination by the imperative voice of the empire. Then came the abolitionists, with able leaders, expert in the use of the pen and press; fearless, with forty year's training in the school of affliction, and supported by a great proportion of the religious influence of the kingdom. A moderate party also existed in England, of whom lord Bexley may be taken as an example, who were friendly to the final abolition of slavery, but who had not that fixed abhorrence of it, and that robust energy, which were necessary to secure success to the cause of the abolitionists. On the other side, were the West India body in England, who, through self-interest, had blinded their eyes to the enormous evils of the system—a body of men powerful in nobility of birth, in wealth, and in union of sentiment and action. In the West Indies, were the colonial legislatures, in many instances arrogant and vainglorious in proportion to the narrowness of their domain and the briefness of their authority; bitterly opposed to missionaries and dissenters, and to all religious instruction of the slaves; hardened and corrupted, in not a few instances, by contact with slavery. The

fierceness of their tones of defiance to the mother country finds no parallel in our colonial history. They were powerfully seconded by the great proportion of the white inhabitants of the colonies. Next came the established churches of England and Scotland, furnishing some indefatigable and excellent clergymen, but generally inefficient, so far as the religious instruction of the slaves was concerned. The dissenting missionaries, baptist, methodist, etc. constituted another class. They did not perhaps associate sufficiently with the white inhabitants of the islands, and, in some instances, employed terms unnecessarily harsh, in speaking on the subject of slavery. But in the language of lord Goderich, "they cannot with charity, or in justice, be supposed to have been actuated by any views of secular ambition or personal advantage. They devoted themselves to an obscure, arduous, and ill-requited service; they were well-appriized that distrust and jealousy would attend them, and that the path they chose led neither to wealth nor reputation. The great ruling motive must have been in general that which was professed, since there is no other advantage to be obtained than the consciousness of having contributed to the diffusion of christianity throughout the world." Besides these, were the free-coloured people, a highly respectable and increasing body of men, devoted in their attachment to the British government, favourable to the emancipation of the slaves, but remarkably judicious in their conduct, and discreet in their language. With so many parties, and with such powerful conflicting interests, it is not a matter of wonder that slavery maintained its ascendancy so long in the West Indies, nor that the minds of men were highly exasperated, and the sufferings of the slave, in many respects, augmented.

But it is not our intention to dwell upon evils, which we trust are now in a considerable degree, simply matters of history. The jubilee-trump has been blown, and the shackles have fallen off.

The efforts of the friends of the abolition of slavery may be classed under three distinct periods.

1. Abolition of the slave-trade. In 1785, Thomas Clarkson commenced his labours. Two years before, the Society of Friends had petitioned parliament for the abolition of the trade. On the 9th of May, 1788, William Wilberforce submitted a resolution to the House of commons, "that this House will early in the next session proceed to take into consideration the

circumstances of the slave trade." After some debate, the motion was agreed to. Fox and Burke spoke in favour of it. In May, 1789, Mr Wilberforce laid upon the table of the Commons, twelve propositions, deduced from the report of the committee of the privy council. Mr Wilberforce's brilliant address was seconded by Pitt, Fox, Burke, and Grenville. In 1791, the examination of witnesses, on the part of the Commons, was completed. On the 28th of April, a motion of Mr Wilberforce to prevent all further importation of slaves, was negatived by a vote of 163 to 88. In 1794, a motion to abolish the foreign trade was carried in the Commons, but lost in the Lords. In 1798, the bill for the abolition was lost in the Commons by a vote of 83 to 87. In 1804, Mr Wilberforce obtained leave to bring in a bill, by a vote of 124 to 49. It was postponed by the Lords. In the next session it was lost in the Commons. In 1805, an order by his Majesty in council was issued, prohibiting the traffic except in certain cases. On the 25th of March, 1807, an act passed both Houses of parliament by a very large majority (there being in the Commons 283 ayes to 12 noes) for the final and total abolition of the slave-trade, under large penalties, and offering bounties to those who might be instrumental in detecting it. This was followed by the act of 1811 declaring the slave-trade felony, and subjecting those concerned in it to condign punishment. By a more recent act of parliament (4 Geo. iv) the traffic in slaves by British subjects was declared to be piracy.

2. Efforts for the melioration of the condition of the slaves, and the gradual abolition of slavery. During the discussion in parliament, Mr Wilberforce and his friends had abstained from touching the subject of slavery. It was considered expedient to let that question remain at rest till the traffic could be abolished. The evils of the system of slavery, however, became more and more obvious. Various measures for the registration of the slaves, for the abolition of Sunday markets, restraining the use of excessive punishments, etc. were in part adopted, but produced only slight alleviations of the evils. In 1823, three resolutions were brought forward by Mr Canning (then prime minister) which received the unanimous sanction of parliament, affirming in substance, that decisive measures shall be taken, and shall be enforced in a determined, persevering and at the same time judicious and temperate manner, to raise the slaves to a participation of the civil rights and privileges enjoyed by

other classes of his majesty's subjects. In January, 1823, the Anti-Slavery Society for the melioration and *gradual* abolition of slavery was formed. In one year, there had been formed in various parts of the kingdom 220 auxiliary associations. The number of petitions for the gradual extinction of slavery presented to parliament amounted to 600. In 1824, Dr Lushington brought in a bill, which was supported by his majesty's ministers, for the consolidation and amendment of the laws abolishing the slave trade. Its most important new provision was the abolition of the *intercolonial* slave-traffic which had been suffered to survive the general abolition. The orders in council proposing many salutary regulations in respect to slavery in the colonies were in nearly every instance resisted or evaded. In 1826, the number of petitions presented to parliament was 674. Mr Canning complained of this loud and concurrent expression of the public voice, "as likely to excite determined resistance in the colonists, which must be overcome, before the purpose of government could be effected."

3. Efforts for the immediate abolition of slavery. On the 3d of April, 1831, an extraordinary meeting of the friends of the anti-slavery society was held at Exeter Hall, London. Among the gentlemen present were Lords Suffield and Calthorpe, Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Lushington, George Stephen, T. F. Buxton, William Smith, J. W. Cunningham, G. Noel, Daniel Wilson, and other eminent laymen and clergymen. At this time, a most powerful impulse was given to the cause. The Anti-Slavery Society adopted a new title more in consonance with its objects—the speedy and entire abolition of slavery throughout the British Dominions. An address was issued to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, calling upon all the friends of the cause to use every possible effort to return to parliament at the approaching election only such men as were the decided advocates of abolition. The kingdom from every quarter, responded to this call. The entire attention of the people was, however, soon absorbed in the subject of parliamentary reform, changes in the ministry, etc. A powerful accession was made to the influence of the abolitionists by the elevation of earl Grey and his party. At the same time, the slaves in Jamaica became discontented. They had heard that England meditated for them some great boon, which their employers, in their unguarded resentment, declared was equivalent to emancipation. In 1831, the slaves were deprived of

their usual Christmas holiday, the value of which to persons in their condition, can be estimated only by themselves. They refused to work on that day. They were accordingly driven into the woods by an armed militia. In self-defence or retaliation, they set fire to the plantations of their assailants. Many of the slaves consequently perished. Religious persecution followed in the train. Some slaves were severely punished, simply on account of their having been concerned in acts of religious worship. A large number of edifices were demolished or burned down by mobs, and other disgraceful acts were perpetrated. Of course, intelligence of these events greatly increased the excitement in Great Britain, and hastened the day of abolition. The West India party began to find no countenance either in government, parliament, or their fellow-countrymen. Early in 1833, petitions began to pour into parliament from every part of the kingdom. On the 14th of May, Mr Stanley, secretary for the colonies, introduced into the commons, the government plan for abolishing slavery in the British colonies, of which the following was the introductory resolution: "That it is the opinion of this committee that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes, as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors."* The bill finally passed the commons on the 7th of August and the Lords on the 20th. Its principal provisions are the following. After the first of August, 1834, all slavery is to cease in the British Dominions, except in Ceylon, St. Helena, and the East Indies, (where are special provisions.) On the 1st of August, 1834, all slaves over six years of age to enter into the ranks of apprenticed labourers, and to be divided into three classes; Praedial slaves, or those attached to the soil and engaged for the most part in agricultural employments. Second, nonpraedial slaves, engaged in commerce, trades, etc. Third, all not included in the two preceding classes. The apprenticeship of the first class not to extend beyond August, 1840; and of the second, not beyond August, 1838. Labourers may be discharged by the voluntary act of their employers. The right to serve may be transferred as property, but in no case shall families be separated.

* It is an interesting fact that on the very night in which this resolution passed the Commons, Wilberforce died!

The whipping of females is to be in no case permitted. All Sunday labour to be abolished. As a compensation to slaveholders, £20,000,000 sterling to be paid them from the treasury. The compensation to be distributed in nineteen shares, according to the number and relative value of the slaves in each colony; but to be entirely withheld from such as do not comply with the provisions of the act.

It seems to be acknowledged that the sworn or arbitrated value of a slave, according to his current market price, is the fairest principle for awarding compensation. In order to determine the amount of compensation, accurate and complete returns from every plantation in the colonies is to be sent in by the 1st of August, or within three months from that date. These returns are to be transmitted to England, and as soon as they have all arrived, the process of awarding the compensation money will commence, unless where counter claims may be sent in from mortgagees, etc.

The bill passed by decided majorities in both Houses of parliament. The ultra-abolitionists, as O'Connell, and others, were opposed to the apprenticeship-provision, and also to the granting of the compensation. Mr Wilberforce, who died before the bill finally passed, was understood to have been in favour of the compensation. Mr Buxton said that "there was not one clause in the bill, which he would support with more pleasure than the grant of £20,000,000; and if any degree of reproach attached to those who voted for it, he was prepared to take his share. The amount was far surpassing what he thought the actual value of the slaves, and if the government were only to wait till the next year, they might buy emancipation at a quarter of the present price; but, then, in what state would the colonies be. He supported the grant for this reason; that if emancipation was not given, more than £20,000,000, would be spent in military preparations. He would much rather give double, or any amount, to the planter, than have any such thing happen. The government was entitled to great praise for the measure, and he was sure they would be supported by the country. It would extinguish slavery in the colonies, it would extinguish the slave-trade, and it would go a very great way towards abolishing slavery throughout the world."*

A sufficient reason for granting the compensation can be de-

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, third series, vol. xx. p. 131.

rived from the well-known fact, that the *British nation, as such*, were the authors of West Indian slavery. Its introduction was a national concern, sanctioned by royal charters, and persevered in, to some extent, in opposition to the will of the colonists. Why should not its abolition be a national concern? The vote on the compensation in the commons was 132 to 51. It was also foreseen that the co-operation of the colonial legislatures was indispensable, in order to carry the bill happily into effect. Unattended with the compensation-clause, the bill might have met with their decided opposition.

The bill no sooner received the sanction of the parliament than all eyes were turned to the West Indies, and especially to the leading colony—Jamaica. After a long discussion in the house of assembly of that island, the bill finally passed on the 12th of December, 1833, embodying all the principles of the parliamentary measure. It was determined that apprentices may purchase their discharge, without consent of the master, by paying the appraised value. The value to be appraised by three justices of the peace, who are to order sums advanced on the security of the negro, to be paid out of the purchase-money. No apprentice to be removed from the island, nor to another estate, if the removal separates him from his wife or child. Masters to be liable for the maintenance of discharged labourers above fifty years of age, or those who are disabled. The employer bound to supply the apprentice with food, clothes, and medicine. Children under twelve, now born, to be indentured, and remain apprentices till twenty-one. Special justices to be appointed for the execution of the act, who shall take cognizance of offences committed by negroes. Sunday markets are to be abolished, and praedial labourers are to have Saturday free.

The most serious difficulties were apprehended in Jamaica, where is a great quantity of uncultivated land, where vegetation is very rapid, and but little labour is required.* In the smaller islands nearly all the land is under cultivation. The legislature of Antigua was the first which set the example of an amelioration of the criminal law with regard to negro slaves, by affording the accused party the benefit of trial by jury, and allowing in

* Of the 4,000,000 acres on the island, only 2,235,732 are occupied. The inhabitants are 56 to a square mile. In Barbadoes they are 816.

the case of capital convictions, *four days* to elapse between the time of sentence and the execution. They have since, (Feb. 4, 1834) done themselves the further honour of enacting that "from and after the 1st of August, 1834, slavery shall be and is hereby utterly and forever abolished and declared unlawful within this colony and its dependencies." The laws of the island relative to slavery to be abolished, and the statute laws of England to take their place. The measure is unqualified from all the provisions of the apprenticeship. Food and clothing to be supplied to the old, young and infirm for one year, at the proprietor's expense, and reasonable wages are to be allowed to all competent labourers. The Bermudas have since copied the example.

Thus far, we believe, the results of the act of emancipation have been as favourable as could have been reasonably anticipated. The reports respecting the indolence of the negroes, and the arbitrary measures of the newly appointed *stipendiary* officers, are, doubtless, to a considerable degree, correct. Very serious embarrassments have existed, and do yet exist in Hayti. The statements of the journalists on both sides, respecting that island, are to be received with great allowances. Owing to many causes, the advancement of the people in knowledge and happiness must be very slow. Still, the fact that the population has been doubled in less than twenty-five years, is certainly evidence of improvement. Our confidence that a favourable result will follow the late measures in the British West Indies, is founded on the following reasons.

1. We believe that the act of emancipation will receive the benediction of the Ruler of nations. He has not been an indifferent Observer of the scenes which have, for two hundred years, disgraced the beautiful islands of the West. In respect to nations and large bodies of men, he has constituted this world a state of retribution. Where are the possessions now of that kingdom, whose armies and governours, with savage cruelty, exterminated the Caribs, the Mexicans, and the children of the sun? In whose hands are the Floridas, Mexico, Darien, Terra Firma, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Chili, Peru, California? England has pursued a different course, and will meet with a different destiny. Her religious influence has been consecrated long and nobly to the extermination of colonial slavery. Her reward is in heaven, and her record is on high.

2. We believe that the different races of men possess similar

passions, and are governed by similar motives. We do not place much confidence in a few detailed instances of superior African intellect and cultivation. It is true that the African family have furnished a Hannibal, who was a colonel in the Russian artillery ; a Lislet, who was a corresponding member of the French academy of sciences, an Arno, who took the degree of doctor in philosophy in the university of Wittemberg ; an Ignatius Sancho, a Gustavus Vasa, a Capitem, and a Louverture ; but the instances are not sufficiently numerous to allow of a general deduction from them. We choose to take the broader assumption of an original equality in all the tribes of man. Southern India, and Eastern and Northern Africa have had their days of splendid intellectual and military glory. With an object of sufficient magnitude before them, all men will labour perseveringly and successfully. Stimulate the negro with the hope of personal profit, and his indolence and ignorance will be transformed into industry and forethought. The result will not be fully developed in one, nor in two generations. But it will take place at length, despite of climate, configuration of the skull, want of ancestral recollections, or any other disadvantageous circumstance.

3. There are almost 200,000 coloured persons in the islands, who have been free for longer or shorter periods. As a body their character is most respectable. In Jamaica, they have been for some time entitled to seats in the legislature ; many of them are persons of property, of intelligence, and of moral worth. Of course, their influence on the lately emancipated slaves must be great and salutary. They have long stood as a barrier against the insurrections of the slaves on the one hand, and of the tyranny of the whites on the other.

4. It is probable that there will be a considerable emigration of white agricultural labourers from Great Britain. The exaggerated views, which are entertained relative to the difficulty and danger of agricultural labour in tropical climates will be removed. In several of the West India Islands, with ordinary care and prudence, illness is very rare among the white inhabitants, where the heat, on an average of six working hours in a day, is but little greater than it is during the month of July in England.

5. Our strongest confidence, however, is in the immediate and universal application of all the means of education in connection with religious influence. It is the mild and transform-

ing influence of the gospel of Christ, which will prepare the negroes for freedom, and teach them how to improve the gift. The United Brethren now occupy twenty five stations in the British West Indies. One hundred and twelve missionaries of their church, male and female, have the superintendence of about 39,000 coloured people, of whom 13,500 are communicants, and a large number are children receiving a christian education. In Jamaica, where since the last insurrection they have been left almost alone, they employ eighteen missionaries, at six stations, and at eight detached school-rooms, besides those in their settlements. The Wesleyan Missionary Society expended in their missions, on these islands, in the year ending in May, 1834, about £5,300. They number twenty one missionaries and assistants, 9508 scholars, and 31,937 members. Six chapels in Jamaica were destroyed or damaged in the late insurrection. Of the estimated cost of repairing them, £2090, the British government will pay one half. Thirteen of the Baptist meeting houses were laid in ruins, in the same insurrection, at a loss of about £18,000, of which the British Government will repay nearly £12,000. They have thirteen missionaries, 6000 members, and 10,000 inquirers. On a smaller scale, the Church, London, and Scottish missionary Societies are labouring. On the 2d of June last, the British and Foreign Bible Society determined, at an estimated expense of twenty thousand pounds, to tender to every person receiving the gift of freedom in the British colonies, on the first of August, 1834, a copy of the New Testament, accompanied by the Book of Psalms, in a large type, and substantially bound, provided such persons can read, or may be at the head of a family, any member of which may be able to read. Other benevolent associations in Great Britain are proceeding on a corresponding scale to enlarge their sphere of operations. It is well understood that without great exertions of this description, vigorously and judiciously employed, the measure of emancipation will fail to produce its most precious fruits. May every blessing attend this noble effort of humanity. It is a spectacle on which is fixed the gaze of a great cloud of witnesses. It is a consummation worthy of Anglo Saxon energy. It is a subject for devout congratulation to all the descendants of Britain, in the four quarters of their dispersion. In the language of Mr. Buxton, "it has cost England twenty millions, but it has saved the colonies. It has cost her twenty millions, but it has liberated the negroes.

It has cost her twenty millions, but it has preserved her power and raised her fame among the nations of the earth. It has cost her twenty millions, but, I trust, it has saved her from the anger of that Deity, who could not but have looked on her in wrath and indignation, had this evil not been removed."

The authorities which we have consulted in writing the preceding article are Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, three series, about 20 volumes in each. Evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1831, two volumes folio, Martin's History of the British Colonies, etc. On a subsequent page we shall insert a tabular view of the British West Indies.

ARTICLE VII.

EXPOSITION OF THE LORD'S PRAYER, MATT. 6: 9—13 AND, AS APPENDIX, 14, 15.

From Tholuck's Commentary on the Sermon upon the Mount. Translated by J. Torrey,
Professor of Languages in the University of Vermont.

I. *Works relating to the Lord's Prayer.*

THE various writings which have a bearing on the introduction to the prayer, or on particular passages in it, will be noticed in their place: those interpreters only will be mentioned here, to whom the merit is due of having gone through with the exposition of the whole passage; and none but the most important of these, as the number of expositions, particularly of a devotional character,¹ is uncommonly great. In the ancient church, the prayer was commented upon by most of the distinguished teachers. From the Greek church, the following may be noticed: 1. ORIGEN in his treatise *περὶ εὐχῆς* c. 18. Opp. T. I. p. 126 ff.—a full and highly spiritual commentary. We meet here and there it is true, with wide digressions, such as mark the over-abundant stream, and with certain fancies pecu-

¹ A considerable number of these are referred to in Lienthal's *biblische Archivarius*, Königsb. 1745, p. 39.

liar to the author ; but, contrasted with the poverty of our more recent commentators in all that relates to spirituality of meaning, what fullness of true theological knowledge, what exuberance of soul and of thought ! He who can speak of this work of the great father in such language as that of M. von Matthaei : quo libello equidem nihil usquam unquam inveni absurdius, betrays surely the barrenness of his own mind. 2. CHRYSOSTOM, once in his Homilies on Matt. hom. XIX. T. VII. p. 149, and again in the homily de instituenda secundum Deum vita T. II. ed. Montf. There is also in T. VIII. another commentary on the Lord's prayer which is not genuine. His exposition is simple, popular, coming from the heart, and he takes pains to trace the connection between the several petitions. 3. ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM epist. l. IV. ep. 24. The exposition is short, and of no great value. 4. CYRILL OF JERUSALEM, in Cateches. 23. § 11—18. Opp. ed. Touttée, p. 329. The exposition is short, and distinguished for no peculiar merit. 5. GREGORY OF NYSSA, five discourses de oratione, in which, commencing from the second, the Lord's prayer is explained T. I. ed. Paris, p. 723 ff. The exposition is diffuse, yet spiritual and beautiful. 6. The ANONYMOUS WRITER in Steph. le Moynes's *Varia Sacra*, Lugd. B. 1685, I. 66. ; his explanation of *ἐπιούσιος* is particularly to be noticed. The fragments, which are published by Alex. Morus from a cod. of Athanasius in the Medicean library,¹ belong to the same author. Out of the Latin church we may name : 1. TERTULLIAN in his book de oratione T. III. ed. Paris, p. 501. The exposition is short and not without solidity. 2. CYPRIAN in his treatise de oratione dominica, Opp. ed. Par. p. 317. The exposition is fuller, and contains much that is excellent and that enters deeply into the christian spirit. 3. PSEUDO-AMBROSIUS in the treatise de sacramentis l. V. c. 4.²

¹ Notae in N. T. p. 26.

² Respecting the want of authenticity, see Oudin T. I. 651. I know not upon what the assertion of Wetstein is grounded, that Ambrosius was not acquainted with the Doxology. In his Comm. on Luke that writer passes the Lord's prayer entirely by, and elsewhere I have not been able to find any passage, where he would be likely to speak of the Doxology. But that the book de sacramentis did not proceed from Ambrosius, but belongs perhaps to no earlier period than the seventh century, appears evident also from the circumstance that this exposition contains the doxology, and that too with allusion to the Father, Son and Spirit, as became common in the later catholic church. See the exposition of v. 13.

His exposition is short and of little importance. 4. JEROME in his commentary on Matthew, and in his dialogue contra Pelagianos l. III. c. 15. T. II. ed. Venice. The exposition is short, but important particularly in reference to the history of interpretation. 5. AUGUSTIN in his exposition of the sermon upon the mount, and in his sermons upon Matt. 6. de oratione domin. sermo LVI—LX. T. V. ed. Bened. His expositions contain valuable matter, but are remarkably wanting in decision. 6. AUCTOR OPERIS IMP. His exposition contains much that is worthy of attention.—The interpretations of the Greek fathers have been compiled with great erudition by *Suicer* in his *Observationes sacrae*, Tiguri 1665. c. VII—XI.

Belonging to the time of the reformation, the expositions which were adopted into the catechisms of the two protestant churches have maintained the highest consequence; that in the great and that in the small catechisms of Luther, and that in the Heidelberg Catechism of Ursinus and Olevianus. These expositions as well as the catechisms to which they respectively belong are models of a popular style combined with theological depth. Besides the two expositions of Luther contained in the catechisms, there are also three others of his. The first, from his sermons taken down by J. Schneider, appeared in 1518, and was followed in the same year by an edition from Luther himself with the title: *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer for simple laymen*. To this are joined as a sort of appendix the two very short treatises entitled: *A brief summary and arrangement of all the prescribed petitions*, and *a brief exposition of the Lord's prayer in the right and in the wrong way* (vor und hinter sich). After this followed in 1529 the exposition in the catechisms, and last of all, some additional remarks in explanation of the Lord's prayer in the course of sermons upon Matt. 6., which he began in 1530. The first and more copious exposition for laymen shows less of clearness and perfect command of the subject than the later performances. Among the great number of expositions which are to be found in the more recent commentaries of the different churches, no one deserves to be distinguished so much as that of Chemnitz *Harmonia Evangel.* T. I, c. 51. It is especially rich in profound christian views, penetrating into the connection of the truths of Scripture. The exposition of Socinus also is very full and elaborate. Among the works which have been separately written on the Lord's prayer, the exercitationes in orationem do-

minicam of the learned Herm. Witsius¹ are most deserving of notice. With all the writer's want of precision and of the power of classifying individual facts, this work contains much that is very useful in explaining the sense, particularly learned references to the fathers. Next to this in importance is the acute and in some respects original commentary of Gottfr. Olearius.² Nor should we overlook the work of Nics. Brunner de prae-stantia et perfectione orationis dominicae,³ which follow, it is true, in form, the rigid school of Lampe, but yet enters well into the sense.⁴ Finally, the later productions most deserving of notice are the following: that of Noesselt in his exercitatt. Hal. 1803, which however, enters in no respect more deeply into the subject than the earlier treatises; next, the exposition of the prayer by my honoured colleague Dr Weber in the program of 1828, under the title: *Eclogae exegetico-crit. in nonnullos libror. N. T. locos. II. and III.*, a work well worthy of being read; and Gebser's *Dissertation de oratione dom. comment. I. Regiom. 1830*, which is written with industry.

II. *Time, place, and object of the Prayer.*

We are informed Luke 11: 2 ff., at a later period of the life of Christ, that after concluding one of his prayers, a certain disciple applied to him for a form of prayer, and that Jesus gave at that time the same prayer which we find here in the sermon upon the mount. This occasion of communicating the prayer appeared to many so appropriate, and the connection, in which it is introduced in Matthew, on the other hand, so improbable, that—especially as Luke elsewhere adheres more strictly to

¹ In the *Exercitationes sacrae*. Amst. 3. ed. 1697.

² In the *Observatt. sacr.* Lips. 1713, p. 176 ff.

³ In the 2d vol. of the *Tempe Helvet.* Tig. 1736.

⁴ In this same collection of disputations in the 1st vol. p. 351, there is a dissertation of Stapfer de nexu et sensu orationis dominicae prophetico, which shows, that it is not the philosophy of Hegel alone, that leads to that more profound view of the Lord's prayer, which discovers in each petition a period of the developement of states and nations, as Prof. Sietze has represented it in his *Grundbegriffe preussischer Rechts-und Staats geschichte*, Berl. 1829; the theologian Stapfer also traces in the six petitions the periods of the history of the christian church.

chronological order—a principal argument has been drawn from this circumstance by most of the modern commentators since the time of Pott, including last of all Olshausen and Gebser, to prove that Matthew in the sermon upon the mount has embodied together several distinct discourses delivered by Christ on different occasions. The latest theory, however, has in this instance reposed as little confidence in the chronological order of Luke as in that of Matthew. Sieffert¹ thinks “there is very good reason to conjecture, that the disciple, as he alludes to the similar practice of the Baptist, must have found an earlier occasion for his request;” and that generally “many things might have been incorporated into Luke’s account, which did not happen precisely on this last journey.” Such we must necessarily suppose to have been the case with those unconnected remarks upon prayer contained in the 5th and following verses. In other respects Sieffert is also of the opinion that Luke has stated the true and only occasion of communicating the prayer, and proceeds to say, that whoever agrees with Olshausen in conceding this, will scarcely prevail upon himself to believe, that the Evangelist, who has introduced the prayer in so different a connection, was an apostle, and eye-witness of the facts he relates. We may now inquire what judgment has been formed respecting this different account in earlier times. Among the ancients Origen has taken special pains to compare the two accounts together. He was chiefly interested, however, in the question, whether it followed from the narrower compass of the prayer in Luke, that Christ himself gave it on that occasion its abbreviated form. From 6. 30. *de orat.* at the beginning of the explanation of the sixth petition, we see it was his opinion that Jesus afterwards gave it to his disciples in an abbreviated form, because amplification was less necessary for them than for the people. The circumstance that after the communication of the prayer in the sermon upon the mount, the disciples should still want a form of prayer, is explained by the earlier commentators either by supposing that the disciple, who in Luke asks for the form, was absent during this part of the discourse, or no longer remembered this particular passage—an opinion which Origen himself alludes to—or that *μαθητης*, as in other passages, does not denote here one of the *twelve*, but another disciple, perhaps one of the seventy (Euthymius, Heumann), or finally that the

¹ Ueber den Ursprung des ersten kanonischen Evangel. p. 79.

disciples considered the prayer in the sermon upon the mount as rather intended for the people, and now in Luke requested a form of prayer particularly for themselves. According to Noesselt and Raw the disciples presented this request to Jesus a short time previous to the sermon upon the mount, and the answer which Jesus then gave them, has been introduced by Matthew into the discourse itself. According to Paulus, in his Comment. I. p. 712., their request, which had been presented before the sermon, is answered for the first time by Jesus in the prayer as it occurs. All these explanations are held by the latest critics to be unsatisfactory.¹ But why? Is there any thing forced or unnatural in the supposition, that the prayer which Jesus had presented to the people, as an example how men ought to pray without "vain repetitions," and which in fact, in its present connections, has not at all the character of a form, should not have been regarded by the disciples as such, and as particularly designed for themselves, and that therefore, without once calling to mind this type of a true prayer, they should at a later period have requested a form for their own use? Were there not other occasions also, in which they were uncertain, whether what our Lord said before the people had any special reference to themselves? See Luke 12: 41. And if it should

¹ Calvin too is wholly undecided: incertum est, semel an bis hanc orandi formam Christus discipulis tradiderit. Quibusdam hoc secundum videtur magis probabile . . . Quia tamen diximus, Matthaeum praecipua quaeque doctrinae capita colligere, ut melius ex continua seria totam summam perspiciant lectores, fieri potest ut Matthaeus occasionem, quam refert Lucas, omiserit, quanquam hac de re cum nemine pugnare velimus.—Socinus also finds all the solutions quite unsatisfactory: neque ego sane, says he, quidquam invenire vel excogitare possum, quod mihi ullo modo satisficiat ad absurditatem istam tollendam, quae nimis evidens plane est. He suggests the inquiry, though with the utmost caution, to avoid encroaching too nearly upon the dignity of God's word, whether Luke may not in this case have neglected the order of time. It is interesting to observe how those men, who under the atmosphere of the *nineteenth* century would infallibly have been rationalists, derived a sort of spiritual vigour from their connection with the believing *sixteenth*, much as they sought to tear themselves away from it. How many genuine elements of christianity, which are wanting to our modern theology, are still found in the Socinian writings, whose fundamental tendency is yet in other respects altogether that of our "rational supranaturalists," as they are called.

seem quite improbable that all of them should lie under such a mistake, might it not have been the case with one or two? But Luke speaks only of *one* disciple. Is it raised as an objection, that, in this case, our Lord would have hinted, at least with a single word, that they had only to recollect the prayer which had already been given them; I would ask then whether this is the only instance, in which nothing but what is most essential has reached us from the discourses of Christ? If in addition to what has now been said we consider how perfectly the prayer is adjusted to its place in Matthew, so that if we should detach it from its present connection, we might also take away the 7th and 8th verses, as the warning against hypocritical prayer concludes with the sixth, it will be difficult for us to avoid the conclusion, that our Saviour did, in fact, repeat the same form of prayer on another occasion. This being the case, we may suppose also with the older commentators, that on this second occasion our Saviour gave the prayer in the abbreviated form, in which we have it in Luke. But what could have been the motive of our Saviour in abridging the prayer a second time? If he had presented it before as a model of concise prayer in opposition to vain repetitions (*βαιτολογία*) it is hardly to be supposed that the three clauses, which are wanting in Luke: *ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, γενηθήτω τὸ θελημά σου κ. τ. λ., ἀλλὰ ὕψαι ἡμᾶς κ. τ. λ.*, would have been superfluously introduced by him, so as to make any future correction necessary. In this case it would only remain for us, with Michaelis, to seek for the reason of the abridgement in the disciples. The earlier form seemed to them too concise for their own use, and their dissatisfaction with it—arising from an inclination to the fault which our Saviour had already reproved—led them to ask for another, which they now to their shame received in terms still more concise than before. It is better, therefore, to suppose—as Noeselt and Olshausen have done—that Luke's informant gave a less complete report of the words of Christ than that with which Matthew has furnished us, as is the case in regard to the report of the whole sermon upon the mount, and also in other instances; Luke 6: 3—5. comp. Matt. 12: 3—8. Luke 8: 19—21. comp. Matt. 12: 47—50. Luke 9: 19—22 comp. Matt. 16: 14—21.

As to the object which Christ had in view in communicating this prayer, the question of chief importance is, whether it was his intention that it should be used by his followers as a precise

form, or whether it was designed simply to indicate what ought to constitute the substance, of christian prayer. The one extreme here may be found in the view which is ascribed by Harmenopulus¹ to the *Bogomiles*, viz., that they rejected every other prayer but that of our Lord, a fact, however, which must certainly be understood as relating only to the liturgical forms of the church. The other extreme is described by Grotius, when he says: non praecipit Christus, verba recitari, sed materiam precum hinc promere. According to Grotius οὕτως should be interpreted "in hunc sensum;" undoubtedly our lexicons give to οὕτως the meaning: simili vel eodem modo; but when the subject of discourse is a declaration, a proposition, so that after οὕτως the words are expressly quoted, every thing of an indefinite nature is thereby excluded, and we are not at liberty to suppose otherwise than that the precise words are meant to be repeated. Matt. 2: 5. Luke 19: 31. Acts 7: 6, 13, 34, 47. Rom. 10: 6. Where this is not so strictly intended, there we shall always find some modification of the expression, as οὕτως πως.² But that in the present case the precise words were intended to be given, is evident both from Luke 11: 2. ὅταν προσεύχησθε, λέγετε, and from the antithesis. If it were the design of Christ to give only the substance of christian prayer, the antithesis in that case to the πολυλογία and βατηλογία would be but very indirect; a direct antithesis arises only upon the supposition that he is showing how men might pray in a manner at once concise and comprehensive, and in order to do this it was necessary for him to present the words. Wolzogen, who could not reconcile himself to the thought, that Christ gave here a form of prayer, consequently required that οὕτως οὖν should not be considered as an antithesis to the preceding context. Although, however, our Saviour has here given a form, the conclusion by no means follows, which was mentioned above as having been adopted by the *Bogomiles*. It is a just remark of Tertullian: quoniam tamen dominus prospector humanarum necessitatum seorsim post traditam orandi disciplinam: *petite*, in-

¹ In the 14th century, de sectis haereticis.

² Moeller (neue Ansichten schw. Stellen, p. 43.) is greatly out of the way, when he undertakes to show here that the adverb stands for the adjective ταῦτα, which is also the opinion of Schleusner. Respecting this alleged substitution of the adverb for the adjective, see Winer, p. 389.

quit, et accipietis, et sunt quae petantur pro circumstantia cujusque, etc. "Our Lord, who foresaw the variety of human wants, after having given the form or prayer, says distinctly, *ask* and *ye shall receive*, and the things asked for are according to the circumstances of each individual." Christ himself,¹ and his apostles, moreover, made use of other prayers, John 17. Matt. 26: 39. Acts 1: 24. 4: 24. Nay, to come to the point which now lies immediately before us, it cannot be shown, that a christian community may not or should not exist without the use of the Lord's prayer. For we find neither in the Acts nor in any writer prior to the third century, that the Lord's prayer was used as a form in public worship. Justin Martyr says, that the *προεστως* prays "according to the ability which he possesses."² It is not till the time of Tertullian and Cyprian that the prayer appears as the *oratio legitima et ordinaria*. Cyprian remarks on this subject: quae potest magis spiritualis esse oratio, quam quae a Christo nobis data est, quo nobis et spiritus sanctus missus est; quae vera apud patrem precatio, quam quae a filio, qui est veritas, de ejus ore prolatus est, ut aliter orare, quam docuit, non ignorantia sola sit, sed et culpa, quando ipse posuerit et dixerit: rejicitis mandatum Dei, ut traditionem vestram statuatis. "What prayer can be more spiritual, than that which was given us by Christ, by whom also the Holy Spirit is sent to us; what more truly prayer to the Father than that which has been presented to us from his mouth by the Son, who is the truth, so that to pray otherwise than he taught is not ignorance alone but sin, since he himself has said, ye reject the commands of God that ye may establish your own traditions." The belief in the peculiar sanctity of the prayer grew stronger, after it became included with the *disciplina arcana*, and was not allowed to the catechumens but only to the members of the church, a change which was probably owing to the circumstance that the fourth petition, spiritually interpreted, was considered by

¹ Christ, however, gave this prayer only for his church. He could not pray "forgive us our debts," hence "after this manner therefore pray ye." And if there were one of Adam's race *without sin*, he could no longer unite with the christian church in the use of this prayer, and would thereby be excluded from the christian church as it is constituted upon earth.

² See Augusti Denkwürdigk. Th. V. Joh. Georg. Walch de usu orat. domin. ap. vet. christ. in the miscellanea sacra, Amst. 1744.

many to refer to the eucharist. If the composition of the first seven books of the apostolic constitutions must be placed, according to the more recent inquiries, towards the end of the 3d century, it would appear from l. VII. c. 24. that at that time the Lord's prayer was repeated by Christians thrice every day. As early as the time of Charlemagne, children began to commit it to memory.¹ The protestant churches also adopted the Lord's prayer as a standing form in public worship, and met with no opposition except from the anabaptists, a class of eccentric puritans, and the Quakers, sects which in general resolve the whole of public worship into the momentary subjective feelings of the congregation, and will, therefore, tolerate no standing objective form.² We have already said, that the shorter the prayer was which our Saviour presented in contrast with the vain repetitions he reproved, the more full and comprehensive it must be in its contents. We may therefore concede, what has been the received opinion of the church, that all christian desires admit of being reduced to this prayer. As Chrysostom says it is the μέτρον of the prayer of Christians, and as Euthym. beautifully expresses it : παραδίδωσι τύπον εὐχῆς, οὐχ ἵνα ταύτην μόνην τ. εὐχὴν εὐχώμεθα, ἀλλ' ἵνα, ταύτην ἔχοντες πηγὴν εὐχῆς, ἐκ ταύτης ἀρυνώμεθα τὰς ἐννοίας τ. εὐχῶν. "He gives us a form of prayer, not that we may confine ourselves to this alone, but that as from a fountain we may draw from it the thoughts of which our prayers should be composed." Finally, Cyprian: qualia sunt orationis dominicae sacramenta, quam multa, quam magna, breviter in sermone collecta, sed in virtute specialiter copiosa, ut nihil omnino praetermissum sit, quod non in precibus atque orationibus nostris coelestis doctrinae compendio comprehendatur. The Socinians were not satisfied with this assertion, but it was probably only because they understood it in too literal a sense. Volckel, however, de vera religione l. IV. c. 9. constitutes an exception.

We mention only in passing two other hypotheses respecting the object of this prayer, which may be considered as antiquated. One is the opinion of Pfannkuche in Eichhorn's allgem. Bibl. der bibl. Litt. Bd. X. p. 846, that it was the intention of

¹ See Bergpredigt, p. 372.

² Respecting the controversy of the Puritans with the Episcopalians of England on this point, see Benthem Engländer. Kirch-und Schulenstaat. c. 26. s. 591 ff.

Christ in this prayer to furnish his disciples with a symbol of faith; and the other, the extravagant view of Moeller,¹ that each of the several petitions was the beginning of a Jewish prayer, and that it was simply the design of Jesus by a reference to the most useful Jewish prayers, to furnish his disciples with a visionary prayer (*Interimsgebet*) until the time when they would be taught to pray by the Holy Spirit. Strange that Augusti could still attempt to defend this notion of his old friend in the *Denkwürdigkeiten* Th. IV. 132. v. 93. The principal antagonist of Pfannkuche was Noesselt in the *Exercitationes*.

III. Sources.

To speak of the sources of a prayer which our Saviour gives to his disciples seems somewhat incongruous, since Christ surely was under no necessity of looking for other sources, especially of a prayer, than in the inexhaustible fountain of his own being. If it is intended, however, simply to say, that our Saviour, having found a form already prepared and suited to express the suggestions of his own spirit, saw fit to avail himself of this, there is no objection to the idea. The whole style of representation in the Old Testament was, in this sense, employed by him as a form. Or we may go farther, and say that our Saviour might for the benefit of others, have even condescended to make use of sources foreign to himself. Let us now examine the opinions which have been advanced on this subject. It is not to the fifteenth century, when Pico of Mirandola traced the wisdom of Plato and Pythagoras to the Pentateuch, but to the nineteenth, that the extraordinary hypothesis belongs, that Christ derived a considerable part of his religion, and among other particulars the *pater noster*, from the *Zend-avesta*. This notion, advanced by Herder,² by J. A. C. Richter,³ by Rhode⁴ and by Seyffarth,⁵ is expressed in the boldest language by

¹ First, in Augusti's *Theolog. Monatschrift*, then in the work: *neue Ansichten schwieriger Stellen der vier Evangelisten*. Gotha. 1819. s. 39.

² *Erläuter. des N. T. aus einer neuer öffn. Urkunde*. Riga 1775.

³ *Das Christenthum und die ältesten Religionen des orientis*. Leips. 1819.

⁴ *Die reilige Sage der alten Bactrer*. 1820.

⁵ *Beitrag. zur Special characteristik der Johanneischen Schriften*. Leips. 1823.

Rhode, who says p. 416 : “ *The prayer of Jesus may in fact be pronounced a brief compilation from the prayers of the Zend writings ; and for each petition several parallel passages are to be found which are almost verbally the same.*” But what is the proof for this in fact monstrous assertion. A single passage out of the Zend-avesta B. 1. Part 2, p. 89, in which there is an alleged resemblance with the fifth petition, though the least trace of any such resemblance no where appears. A refutation of this groundless hypothesis is contained in the Dissertation of Gebser de explicatione script. sacr. praesertim N. T. e libro Zend-avesta, Jen. 1824, and in the essay by the same author de oratione dominica, p. 19.

There can be nothing strange, on the other hand, in the assertion, that our Saviour took the petitions of his prayer from Jewish prayers of his time, so long as the reason of this is not supposed to have been any want of resources in our Saviour's own mind, and the remark of Olshausen is kept steadily in view, that “ whatever true and noble was presented to him in the state of cultivation of the age served only to excite his inward development, and even what he received from without was reproduced in the vigour of renewed youth by the creative energy of life within his own soul.” Even the liturgical collections which are made use of by the Jews at the present day, and which are called by them *מִקְדָּשׁ*, contain excellent prayers, borrowed, as to thought and expression, from the Old Testament. If such as these existed in the time of our Saviour, what objection is there to supposing, that in order to give his disciples the greatest benefit of the advantages they already possessed, he might have furnished them with the best petitions of those prayers, after they had been wrought over in his own mind into a beautiful whole? It is not only impossible for the believer, to find in this supposition any occasion of stumbling, but on the contrary a far more profound reflection admits of being connected with it than the remark of Grotius : *Tam longe abfuit Dominus ab omniafectatione non necessariae novitatis.* Would it be an occasion of stumbling to any one, if our Saviour, who had lived so deeply in the spirit of the Old Testament, that even upon the cross, Matt. 27: 46, he expresses his inmost feelings in the words of a Psalm, should have uttered an entire prayer in the language of the Psalms? Does not the Christian church now often express its sentiments of devotion in words of the Old Testament? There could therefore be nothing in the opinion in question de-

serving to be considered as really an occasion of offence. Yet the opinion is nevertheless to be rejected on the ground that the alleged coincidence of the prayer with the prayers of the Rabbins altogether amounts to nothing. This has already been perceived by Kuinoel, Fritzsche, Henneberg, Gebser, Olshausen, so that we might consider the opinion as nearly antiquated. Yet it found so general a reception through the whole of the preceding century and down to our own day,¹ that it will be necessary for us to enter somewhat more at large into the question. The parallels from the rabbinical writings, as they are called, are found in the remarks on the Lord's prayer by Drusius, Grotius, Cappellus, Lightfoot, Schötgen, Wetstein, in the work of Vitranga de syn. vet. p. 962, in the above quoted treatise of Witsius, and finally in a distinct essay of Suranhusius in the Syll. dissert. of that writer p. 31, which Chamberlayre has caused to be inserted into the edition of his collection of paternosters.² From a comparison of all these so-called parallels it appears, that a proper coincidence is found only in the case of the addresses and of the first two petitions. In some Jewish prayers, for instance, God is still addressed in the words "our Father in heaven;" moreover, in some modern prayers the expression occurs "Let thy name be hallowed by our works" or "Let thy name be hallowed, and let the remembrance of thee be glorified;" finally, the petition often recurs that "the kingdom of the Messiah, the kingdom of God, the redemption of Israel might come." Now that our Saviour need not have borrowed the appellation of Father originally from a Jewish prayer is sufficiently evident from this circumstance alone, that God both in the Old Testament and among the later Jews is as seldom called Father, and as frequently called King, as in the New Testament the name Father is according to the rule, and that of King, the exception. Again, so far as it respects the period יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ שֶׁמֶךְ we shall see in the remarks upon verse 10th, that the same phrase occurs also so often in the Old Testament, that Christ certainly need not have borrowed it from the Rabbins. But the petition

¹ A clergyman in one of our late periodicals earnestly demands whether Christ actually borrowed his prayer from the Rabbins, as in this case it would be impossible for him any longer to use it with devotion.

² That very uncritical work: *Die geheime Lehre der alten Orientaler*, etc. by the Swede Hallenberg, Rostock 1805, which on its appearance created a great sensation, also begins its disclosures with the pretended tracing of the Lord's prayer to the Rabbins.

for the coming of the מְלִכּוּת שְׁמַיִם is of so constant occurrence in the Old and New Testaments that Christ would not have expressed himself otherwise consistently with the Christian terminology. Here the real parallels properly end. That is to say, to the *third* petition no parallel is found except barely the words "thy name be hallowed in this world as it is hallowed in heaven" and the "Israelites are angels upon earth, the angels hallow the name of God in heaven, the Israelites upon earth." With the *fourth* petition a passage is compared from the Tr. Berachot. "The wants of thy people are many ; may it please thee, O God, to give unto each of them so much as is necessary for their nourishment, and to every people what they need." To the *fifth* petition there is nothing which bears the remotest resemblance to a parallel. With the *sixth* the following passage from a Jewish morning prayer is compared : "Lord our God, make us to follow thy laws, lead us not into the hand of sin, nor into the hand of transgression, nor into the hand of temptation, nor into scorn ; deliver us from evil inclination (יִצְרָר רָע) bind us to that which is good." It surely needs no further proof, that mere verbal resemblances of this sort can never demonstrate a causal connection between the rabbinical prayers and the prayers of our Lord. To this should be added the important circumstance that these phrases, which possess an apparent resemblance, are raked together from writings of the most heterogeneous character ; some occurring in the Talmud and in the book Sohar, in narrative discourse ; others in moral works ; and others again in collections of prayers. The most resembling are found in a מְקוֹדֵר i. e. a liturgical collection of the Portuguese Jews, and in the סֵפֶר מוֹסֵר of which so much use is made by Drusius, and the author of which is a R. Jehudaklatz. Now the Portuguese collection does not certainly reach beyond the middle ages, and as to the R. Jehudaklatz, it appears that he lived toward the end of the *fifteenth* century !¹ What inference is it possible to draw from the prayers of this Rabbi and of the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam, with respect to the character of the prayers in use among the Jews in the days of our Saviour ?

One other peculiar opinion remains to be mentioned, which

¹ Wolf does not give his age : his German sounding name is enough to show that he belongs to modern times. In Rossi. dizionario storico degli autori Ebrei, Parma 1802. 1. p. 89, it is said, however, that his *Sefer Masar* was published as a posthumous work, 1537, in Constantinople.

was first advanced by Knorr of Rosenroth, and has received the approbation of several eminent men. This pious statesman, who was deeply initiated into Jewish mysticism, and is known also as a writer of hymns, broaches the opinion in the 3d part of his apparatus in libr. Sohar in the pref. § 2. that the petitions of the Lord's prayer represent, according to the successive series of the cabbalistic emanation, the four worlds, mundus aziluticus, beriathicus, ieziraticus and asia; in which he received the assent of several learned men and even of the great and sober Buddæus. The matter became a subject of zealous controversy in which the opposite view was maintained particularly by Gotel. Wernsdorf in his vindiciis orationis domin. Vit. 1708, and in the Disputation of Schrader: orat. dominicæ historice et dogmatice proposita precipue autem judaismo opposita. Helm. 1710.

IV. Contents and arrangement of the Prayer.

The pregnant fullness of its contents is that set forth in the nervous language of Tertullian de orat. c. 7. brevitās ista—magnæ ac beatæ interpretationis substantia fulta est, quantumque substringitur verbis, tantum diffunditur sensibus, neque enim propria tantum orationis officia complexa est, venerationem dei, aut hominis petitionem, sed omnem paene sermonem domini, omnem commemorationem disciplinæ, ut revera in oratione *breviarium totius evangelii* comprehendatur. It will be impossible, however, to form an adequate conception of the profound meaning of this prayer without presupposing the correctness of the hermeneutical rule which I have already laid down,¹ viz. that in interpreting the words of Christ we are not barely to think of the sense which was attached to them by his immediate hearers, but are rather to seek for that which he connected with them himself. Now if we suppose, that he who promised the Spirit to his disciples to supply what was wanting in their faith, knew what the spiritual life of the church was one day to be, we must also suppose that the prayer which he gave to his church for all time, is such an one as can be understood and used in all the fullness of its meaning only from a perfectly spiritual standing point. In other words, *this prayer first obtains its full*

¹ See p. 103. 137. 150 of the commentary on the Sermon upon the Mount.

significance in the mouth of the true Christian, the regenerate man. It is he only who can call God, in the full sense of the word, Father; it is he only who can pray, in the right understanding of the terms, for the coming of God's kingdom; it is he only who can say, "forgive us our debts, *as we forgive our debtors.*" This we shall have to keep constantly in view through the whole exposition; and it is from this position that we shall first be enabled to estimate the intrinsic excellence of the prayer.

Now if the prayer really possesses depth, we shall also find in it a progress of ideas; it will contain no tautology—such as many persons have thought they discovered in the first three petitions; for, as Calov justly remarks, *this is the prayer in which of all others, we should least expect to meet with tautologies, being itself proposed in opposition to vain repetitions.* And if there is a progress of ideas, this too will discover itself in an external arrangement, as it actually does even to the superficial observer, in the *ού* which occurs thrice with the three first petitions, and in the *ἡμεῖς* which occurs four times in connection with the three or four last petitions. Of course, it is necessary to guard against subjecting the discourses of our Lord and the apostles, to the logical method of the schools. In the language of God to man which comes to us from the kingdom of grace, as in that which speaks to us from the natural world, there prevails a higher order than the formal one of logic. At the precise point where our logical square will no longer apply, the boundaries of a higher kingdom begin. The discourses of men of God need not be clipped into French gardens with the logical sheers of a Lampe or a Baumgarten, to acquire symmetry and connection; they are English parks, in which copse and meadow variously intermingle, and yet through the apparent confusion goes forth the law of beauty and of a higher order. It is, however, falling into the other extreme to suppose that every attempt at pointing out a strict logical method is to be rejected. There are cases, in which the formal logical scheme is the body of the essential logic of the mind, as is found to be particularly true in regard to the tripartite division. It was not by a merely accidental classification that the philosophy of the ancients fell into the divisions of Dialectic, Physics, and Ethics, nor that Christian Theology, is embraced under the heads of Theology properly so called, Anthropology, and Soterology (or the doctrine of a Saviour). So then we find also that there is a logical arrangement in the Lord's prayer,

and one which is necessarily grounded in the nature of prayer and of christian faith. The prayer contains seven petitions¹ (the sacred number) which fall into two parts. The former of these expresses the relation of God to us, the latter, ours to God. The first three petitions unfold progressively one thought : first, God must be acknowledged as that which he is ; second, then he rules over men ; third, thereby the earth will in the end become transformed into heaven. In like manner, the last four petitions exhibit a progression running parallel with the former. The prayer commences with what is of inferior importance, and asks first for the supply of earthly wants, then of spiritual ; more particularly, first, for the pardon of past sin ; secondly, for preservation from future sin ; thirdly, for final deliverance from all evil and impurity.² Next follows the epilogue—belonging, it must be confessed, to a later age, yet remarkably well adapted to its place, and presenting under three heads the ground of Christian assurance. This process of ideas is thrown into a method still more rigorously precise in the following scheme of Dr. Weber, contained in the above mentioned Program of 1828.

| Πρόλογος. | Λόγος. | Ἐπίλογος. |
|-----------------------------|--|---|
| | εὐχαί. | αἰτήματα. |
| 1. πάτερ. | 1. ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄ- νμα σου. | 1. τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τ. ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡ- μῖν σήμερον. |
| 2. ἡμῶν. | 2. ἔλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου. | 2. καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα, κ. τ. λ. |
| 3. ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐ- ρανοῖς. | 3. γενηθήτω τὸ θέλ- ημά σου, κ. τ. λ. | 3. καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασ- μόν, κ. τ. λ. |
| | | 1. ὅτι σου ἐσ- τιν ἡ βασιλ- εία. 2. σου ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις. 3. σου ἐστιν ἡ δόξα. |

The first εὐχή and the first αἰτήμα Dr. Weber refers to *Theology*, the second εὐχή with the second αἰτήμα, to *Christology*, the third εὐχή with the third αἰτήμα, to *Pneumatology* or the doctrine of good and evil spirits. It would be more correct to say,

¹ The Reformed Church supposes six, the Lutheran seven, respecting which see remarks on the 7th petition, v. 13.

² Bengel: tres reliquae rogationes spectant vitae spiritualis in mundo initium, progressum, exitum, rogantesque contentur non solum de sua indigentia, sed etiam de reatu, periculo et angustiis. Quum haec amota sunt Deus est illis omnia in omnibus, per rogationes tres primas. Vid. August. and Calvin.

that the distribution of these petitions is grounded upon the economy of Father, Son and Spirit, which economy appears here as it so frequently does elsewhere, to constitute the deeper basis of the logical scheme of the number three. *The acknowledgement of the being of God*, as a holy being, is referred particularly to the *Father* as the *αρχή*; his kingdom among men is through the mediation of the *Son*; it attains to its completion in the *Spirit*, in which the Father and the Son operate in the church, so that the will of God is done on earth as in heaven. In like manner the *sustaining of the bodily existence* belongs to the work of creation and providence (*opus creationis et conservationis*) consequently in a more particular sense to the *Father*; the pardon of the guilt of sin, to the economy of the *Son*; the preservation from the power of temptation and the final subjective deliverance from evil to the economy of the *Spirit*.—After what has now been said, and still better after a careful examination of the several petitions, we shall be prepared to estimate at their just value the following remarkable declarations of Joh. Chr. Fr. Schultz,¹ and of Moeller.² The former theologian asserts that the want of all coherence, and of all natural union of the several petitions with one another, which would scarcely be pardonable in a person praying under the influence of the most unbridled imagination, far less in one possessed of the composed and reflecting mind which Jesus undoubtedly required, makes it impossible to admit this (i. e. that the prayer forms a connected whole).³ And Moeller: “*In short, so soon as we begin to contemplate the Lord's prayer as a connected whole, we see in it so much that is wanting, that it is difficult to conceive why Jesus had not furnished one more full and complete. (!!)*”

A single question remains to be settled. Are the first three petitions actually *petitions*? It might be said that they relate

¹ In his Anmerk. zu Mich. Uebers.

² l. c. p. 47.

³ Schultz supposes, for example, the prayer should be understood as follows: 1) If you would offer an ascription of praise to the Father of universal nature, say; thou Father of us and of all creatures, exalted above all! Let thy praise be our constant employment: 2) or if you would pray for the speedy approach of the beginning of my religion, say thus, etc. 3) or if you would pray God for the greatest happiness of mankind, for a willing compliance with his precepts, thus, etc.

to the things of God, and we cannot, in any proper sense, be said to pray for the things of God, but only to have a longing desire for the fulfilment of what is contained in these three expressions. Hence Dr. Weber—following the example of Grotius—calls them *pia vota*. But this turns out in reality to be the same thing; since every desire of the Christian becomes with him a prayer. Besides, it would be taking a very superficial view of the subject to say that we pray here for the things of God, and *not* for our own. On the contrary, whatever tends to the glory of God among men, contributes also to the glorifying of man in God, consequently is also an object of our prayer. To many expositors, however, the first petition at least has seemed to be only a *votum*, or as they call it, a *doxology*, equivalent to *εὐλογητός ὁ Θεός*. Thus Pricaeus, Olearius, Wetstein, Michaelis. The nature of the doxology, as it is found among the Jews and among the Mohammedans, consists in this, that whenever they pronounce the name of God, with more than ordinary emotion of the mind, they add “blessed hallowed may he be.” But if the *ἁγιασθήτω* here were not a petition, but only such an appendage to the mention of God, we should expect to find the relative, or the participle as in Rom. 1: 25, or Rom. 9: 5. As it stands at present, we shall be under the necessity of considering it as a petition, and the more so, as this suits the whole connexion of thought, while a doxology in so brief a prayer would seem out of place.

V. 9. *The Address*. It will be necessary here to keep in mind the remark which was made on the 205th page. Although the name of father as applied to God among the heathen and the Jews, is the more unfrequent title, and the more common one *δεσπότης* and *βασιλεύς*, yet it is by no means entirely wanting. Among the Persians, Mithras bore the name of father, s. Julian, *Caesares*, p. 336. ed. Spanh. Jupiter is compounded of *Diovis-Deus* and *pater*. The *πατήρ θεῶν τε ἀνδρῶν τε* of Homer is well known, as well as the Hellenic Triad *Ζεῦ τε πατέρ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλόν*, as e. g. Od. IV. v. 341. From the celebrated passage in Plato's *Timaeus*, where he speaks of the deity as the *πατήρ καὶ ποιητὴς τοῦ κόσμου*, the title came into very familiar use among the New Platonicians, who were careful also to make the distinction that the deity was especially the father of the pious. Plutarch *Vita Alex.* c. 27. What sense the heathen attached to the predicate *πατήρ* appears from the words of Diod. Sic. bibl. V. c. 72 : *πατέρα δὲ (αὐτὸν προσ-*

αγορευθῆναι) διὰ τὴν φροντίδα κ. τὴν εὐνοίαν τὴν εἰς ἅπαντας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὥσπερ ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων : “ he is called father on account of his care and good will towards all, and moreover because he appears to be as it were the great head and director of the race of men.” So also Plutarch de superst. c. 6. places the *τυραννικόν* in opposition to *πατρικόν*, and says that the superstitious man (*δεισιδαίμων*) recognizes only the former attribute in the deity. The heathen were acquainted, it is true, only with the original natural derivation of man from God, but even this truth certainly involved the idea of a filial relationship of man to God, and of a paternal love of God to man, Matt. 5: 45. Acts 14: 17. 17: 28; so that it was not a mere delusion, therefore, in the heathen, when he marked and acknowledged in the all-pervading Deity the power not barely of a ruler but also of a father. This name conveyed a still greater truth in the mouth of the Israelite, who enjoyed in so distinguished a manner the revelations of the goodness of his God, that he could exclaim as in Ps. 147: 19, 20. The name father is found in the Old Testament, Deut. 32: 5. Job. 34: 36. Is. 63: 16. Jer. 3: 4, 19. Mal. 1: 6. also Wisd. 14: 3. Sir. 23: 1. That in the mind of the Hebrew the idea of defence and protection was particularly associated with this appellation, may be inferred from such passages as Ps. 68: 5. Is. 9: 6. The name acquires its deepest meaning when used by the Christian, as one born of God. In this sense to become children of God is a “power” *ἐξουσία*, which is derived originally from him, who is in the absolute sense *Son* of God, John 1: 12. comp. comment. p. 106, 309. This was the view taken by most of the ancient commentators,¹ and even the philological Camerarius gives particular prominence to this idea. Then again as in the paternal relation among men, the father's care in supporting, and educating the son, springs out of the fact that the son derives his being from that of the father, so also in the paternal relation of God to man. God is called in scripture the author of every paternal relation, father in the highest sense. Ephes. 3: 15. Matt. 23: 9. Whatever therefore belongs to the idea of father in the human parent we shall again find in the re-

¹ Cyprian: homo novus, renatus, et Deo suo per ejus gratiam restitutus pater dicit, quia filius esse jam coepit.—Quod nomen nemo nostrum in oratione auderet attingere nisi ipse nobis sic permisisset orare. Orig.: εἰκὼν οὖν εἰκότος οἱ ἅγιοι τυγχάνοντες, τῆς εἰκότος οὐσης νιοῦ, ἀπομάττονται νιότητι.

lation of the heavenly father to men, and that too in the most eminent degree, as all human parents answer but imperfectly to their idea. Matt. 7: 11. While the modern interpreters and theologians consider the designation of God as the father of men only as an improper and figurative expression, the ancient teachers of the church express themselves much more profoundly and agreeable to the scriptures, when, on the other hand, they pronounce all earthly parents as fathers only in the improper sense, and God alone father in the proper sense of the word. Basilius adv. Eunom. l. II. c. 23. op. T. I., 259. ὥστε πατήρ ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς οὐ καταχρηστικῶς, οὐδ' ἐκ μεταφορᾶς, ἀλλὰ κυρίως καὶ πρώτως καὶ ἀληθινῶς ὀνομάζεται, διὰ τῶν σωματικῶν γονέων εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος παραγωγῶν, καὶ ταῖς κηδεμονίαις προσοικειούμενος; "so that God is called our father, not in the improper sense, nor by metaphor, but in the proper, the primary and true sense, as it is he who by our bodily parents brings us out of nothing into being, and provides for our wants." In like manner, Damascenus de orthod. fid. l. I. c. 13.

Here at the very outset, as through the whole prayer, the petitioner employs ἡμῶν.¹ The Christian is a member of one body, and hence the individual feels the wants of the whole, as he shares also in the glory of the whole, 1 Cor. 12:26. By virtue of this joint communion the disciple of Christ obtains for all, what he obtains in prayer for himself, as indeed the kingdom of God in its perfection can actually come to him only in so far as it also comes, at the same time, to *all*.

¹ It may seem remarkable that Luther in this particular instance has placed the pronoun last: Vater unser, as this never occurs elsewhere in his version, and besides such literal exactness is quite contrary to his character. But this had already become the standing phrase in the language of the Roman Catholic church. Thus in Mannass's Minne lieder Sammlung in two poets of the 13th century, viz. Th. 2. p. 136. Reimar von Zweter:

"Got, Vater unser, der du bist
In dem Himmelreiche gewaltig;"

and Th. 2. p. 111. Fawart: "Erhöre mich Gott, Vater unser, durch die Minne, mit der din lieber Sun . . ." Further, in the consiliis elegantissimis of Christoph. Käppener 1508, (therefore 14 years prior to Luther's translation) we read, "Bittet Got für den, der solches rat-schlege durch des Gnade Gots gemachtthat, mit einem innigen Vater unser und Ave Maria."

Ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. The name father had awakened confidence, (1 John 3: 1. Rom. 8: 15. Ps. 103: 13.) as Luther says in the smaller catechism, "God would thereby allure us to believe that he is truly our father, and we are truly his children." But the consciousness of the petitioner should not be confined simply to the earthly image of parent, he must pray to God in *spirit* and in *truth*; and hence it is added: Our father, "which art in heaven." To the question, why was this added? the Heidelb. catechism answers, "in order that we might connect nothing earthly with our idea of God's heavenly majesty." —To make the pure, serene, unchangeable, immeasurable æther so remote from all stain, disturbance, inconstancy and limitation of the earth, the dwelling-place of the Deity, belongs to the involuntary symbolical tendency which has its foundation in the consciousness of all men. Aristotle, in the remarkable passage de coelo l. I. c. 3.: πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι περὶ θεῶν ἔχουσι ὑπόληψιν, καὶ πάντες τὸν ἀνωτάτω τῷ θεῷ τόπον ἀποδιδῶσι, καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ Ἕλληνες, ὅσοι περ εἶναι νομίζουσι θεοὺς δηλονότι, ὡς τῷ ἀθανάτῳ τὸ ἀθάνατον συνηγορημενον. "For all men have some idea of gods, and all who believe in the existence of gods, both barbarians and Greeks, assign the highest region to the divine nature, plainly because the immortal is connected with the immortal." Comp. the work ascribed to Aristotle. de mundo c. 2. and c. 6. As the Greeks said of their Zeus: Ζεὺς ὑπεράτα δῶματα ναίων, so the great body of heathen nations ancient and modern. In the Old Testament also the heavens are designated as God's seat, but this very designation is again shown to be symbolical, when, on the other hand, it speaks in the strongest and sublimest language of God's omnipresence, and of his exaltation above all space. 1 Kings 8: 27. 2 Chron. 2: 6. Ps. 139: 7. Jerem. 23: 23. It is only the godless man who says, Job 22: 13, "How doth God know? Can he judge through the dark cloud? Thick clouds are a covering to him that he seeth not; he walketh in the circuit of the heaven." Sometimes the symbolical nature of the expression "Jehovah in heaven" discovers itself in the clearest manner, as in Is. 66, "the heaven is his throne and the earth his footstool," which no one would take in the proper sense. That the predicate denotes exaltation and superiority to all earthly limitations is also seen from Ps. 2: 4. 103: 19. 113: 4, 5. 115: 3. De Wette bibl. Dogm. § 99. very properly calls this expression, "unconsciously symbolical." But if he himself and other

modern interpreters of the Old Testament, had only kept this steadfastly in view, they would not so often have charged the sacred writers with grossness of conception, an error fostered perhaps by here and there a sensually minded individual among the people, but from which the enlightened were altogether free. But if the symbolical character of the expression is not to be mistaken even in the Old Testament, how much less in the discourses of Christ, whose own declaration it is, that his Father is a Spirit. If Christianity has retained this symbolic mode of representation of the Old Testament, we are only to inquire, what is to be expressed by it? In the first place, the purity of God, Job 15: 15, God dwells in light, 1 Tim. 6: 16, then his immensity, Ps. 113: 4. 36: 6, then his exaltation and immutability, Ps. 11: 4. 103: 11. Is. 55: 9. In this sense the phrase is also understood by the fathers, vid. Suicer Thesaur. II. 523. Yet many of them give particular prominence to another idea, which likewise is not excluded. Heaven, as in v. 10, is the place of innocent, holy spirits; in the Old Testament, comp. Gen. 28: 12. In them dwells eminently the fullness of God, and hence it is said, he dwells among them. Damascenus de orth. fid. l. I. c. 16 : λέγεται τόπος θεοῦ, ἐνθα ἑκάδελος ἡ ἐνέργεια αὐτοῦ γίνεται. So on the present passage, Origen, Theodosius, Chrysostom, Augustin.—Respecting the necessity of avoiding all idea of local limitation, the two pillars of the church in the East and in the West, Origen and Augustin, speak with peculiar emphasis. The latter says cp. 57, ad Dard. : Si enim populus Dei, nondum factus aequalis angelis ejus, adhuc in ista peregratione dicitur templum ejus, quanto majus est templum ejus in coelis, ubi est populus angelorum, quibus aggregandi et coaequandi sumus, cum finita peregrinatione, quod promissum est, sumpserimus. “If the people of God, not as yet made equal to his angels, while still in this state of sojourning are called his temple, how much more is his temple in the heavens where the angels dwell with whom we are to be joined and to be made equal, when at the end of our pilgrimage we shall have obtained the promise.” In expounding this passage Augustin says : should we give God a local seat in the heavens, the birds were to be envied, which in that case would be nearer to him than men ; the expression is rather symbolical, as we in praying look towards the rising sun, in order that by the act of turning the body itself towards a higher object, we may be more conscious that the mind is now turning itself to the Highest of all.

convenit enim gradibus religionis et plurimum expedit, ut omnium sensibus et parvulorum et magnorum bene sentiat de Deo. But properly speaking heaven denotes here the hearts of the righteous (corda justorum).

Having thus heard a variety of ancient testimonies respecting the fullness of meaning in this address of the Lord's prayer, we will now inquire what the modern expositors have to say on the subject. In Kuinoel we read : *πατήρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* sc. ὢν Deus optime, maxime, potentissime et benignissime ; in Meyer ; "most exalted and omnipresent Father, a very common address in prayer among the Jews, in opposition to the idolatrous worship of the heathen"—as if in this case *some indifferent individual* of the Jewish nation was speaking, and not rather the only begotten Son of God, who was in the bosom of the Father, and who, although he employed the words of those among whom he appeared in the flesh, yet certainly knew how to attach to them another meaning than this or that person of the Jewish nation.—And this is all that those interpreters have to say to us !

Ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου. The explanation of this petition depends in a great measure upon the greater or less scope we give to the meaning of the word ὄνομα. We may understand ὄνομα in the more limited sense as denoting the proper name of God, the name Jehovah ; or in the broader sense of the word as the designation of God considered in relation to those attributes, which are ascribed to him *in the human mode of representing him*—thus corresponding to the use of זָכָר. Origen says : ὄνομα τόινυν ἐστὶ κεκληρωθῆς προσηγορία τῆς ἰδίας ποιότητος τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου παραστατική. "*Ὀνομα* is a word standing for the proper character of the person named."—*Ἀγιάζειν* answers to the Heb. קָדַשׁ and קָדַשׁ and signifies, first, *to make the unholy, holy* ; then, *to treat the holy as holy*, to consider it holy i. q. to honor it as such. Numb. 20: 12. Deut. 32: 51. Ex. 20: 8. Levit. 21: 8. The transitive signification of the intransitive verb is frequently that of *treating* in some way : thus לָקַח *to be light* ; לָקַח *to treat contemptuously* ; כָּבֵד *to be weighty, magnificent* ; כָּבֵד *to treat as honourable*, etc. Just so *ἀγιάζειν* in the New Testament, 1 Pet. 3: 15, in the Apocr. Sir. 33: 4, and in the fathers ; e. g. Chrys. Hom. in Ps. 113, ὥσπερ ἄγγελοι τὸν θεὸν ἀγιάζουσιν πονηρίας πάσης ἀπηλαγμένοι, ἀρετὴν δὲ μετιόντες μετὰ ἀκριβείας· οὕτω δὲ καταξιώθειμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἀγιάζειν, "as the angels praise God, sepa-

rate from all sin, and striving with all diligence after virtue, so we also are required to praise him." Accordingly, the signification of *ἀγιάζειν* would correspond with that of *δοξάζειν*—and so indeed we find the adjectives occurring together: *τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἑνδοξον*, (Tob. 8: 5.) In the same manner we find occurring together, Sirach 28: 22, *ἀνυψώσε* and *ἡλίωσε*. In the Old Testament, comp. Lev. 10: 3, *אֲבָרַךְ* and *אֲהַלֵּל* stand together, so likewise Ezek. 28: 22. 38: 23. In the Jewish prayers the words *יְהִי קָדְשׁ וְיִתְגַּדַּל שְׁמֵי י* and *שְׁמֵךְ יְהִי קָדְשׁ וְיִתְגַּדַּל* occur together, from which formulas the Chaldaic prayer, so highly esteemed, takes the name of *kaddish* קַדִּישׁ (comp. Capellus, Schöttgen, Wetstein on the passage, and Vitranga de synag. vet. III. 3, 8). In the Shemite dialects therefore, and even in the later Greek *ἀγιάζειν* has also received the signification of *εὐλογεῖν*. In the Rabbinic קַדִּישׁ is equivalent to בְּרַכָּה. In the Ethiopic the doxology is expressed by a word of the same root. In the Arabic *تَكْدِيس* *takdis* is the technical word for praising God. Reland. de rel. Muh. p. 149. In the language of the later Greek church the formula was common *ἀγιάζειν τὸ ποτήριον* = *εὐλογεῖν*, and *ἀγιασμὸς μέγας* was the phrase which designated the benediction of the water, vid. Du Cange Gloss. Graec. med. s. h. v. It is taken in the present instance without hesitation as equivalent to *δοξάζειν*, by Chrysost. and Theod. Opp. T. II. p. 349, upon Is. 48: 7: *τὸ ἀγιάσατε ἀντὶ τοῦ υμνήσατε τέθεικεν· οὕτως γὰρ καὶ προσευχόμενοι λέγομεν, ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομα σου ἀντὶ τοῦ δοξασθήτω*. Origen explains *ἀγιάζειν* by *ὑψοῦν*. If now the accompanying word *ὄνομα* is taken in the more limited sense, the petition would express the desire, that the name of God might be mentioned with reverence, and therefore never be taken upon the lips unnecessarily, never be profaned. But should we restrict the petition to this meaning alone, its limited extent would stand in too strong a contrast with the more comprehensive meaning embraced by each of the other petitions. To this we must add, that the Hebrew and Rabbinic phrase *יְהִי קָדְשׁ שְׁמֵי י* had not barely the limited sense "to pronounce the name of God with reverence," but "to esteem God holy in all his relations." Is. 29: 23. Ex. 36: 23. comp. Is. 52: 5. Rom. 2: 24. 1 Tim. 6: 1. As little can *δοξάζειν* and *φανερῶν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ* in the New Testament, be taken in so narrow a sense, John 12: 28. 17: 1, 4, 6. Rev. 15: 4. We shall consequently consider *ὄνομα* as a periphrasis, in which case the proper name

itself is also included. "All which the name of God comprehends in itself, God in all his relations be esteemed holy." The expression "to esteem holy" here is to be understood in a two-fold sense. The first is, to acknowledge God as that which he is; the second, the yielding of one's self to be determined by him, as the necessary consequence, whenever that acknowledgment is genuine. The other more limited sense, properly resolves itself also into this, that is, when not too superficially understood, since the serious dread of profaning the divine name with the lips, must, unless it is an external opus operatum, depend upon the reverence of the heart towards God. This is also expressed in the exposition of Calvin, which is inclined to the more limited sense: sanctificari Dei nomen nihil aliud est, quam suum Deo habere honorem, quo dignus est, ut nunquam de ipso loquantur vel cogitent homines sine summa veneratione.

So far as it regards the history of the interpretation, we may observe in the case of the petition now before us,—as also those which follow—an ascending series of expositions according to the greater or less compass of meaning given to the expressions by the interpreters. It is understood in the most limited sense by those who make it to mean that the divine name should not be improperly used, but always pronounced with reverence. Nearly in this sense it is taken by those who consider the phrase as a sort of doxology, as Pricaeus, Olearius, Wetstein, Michaelis. A still larger compass is given to the meaning, by those who consider the expression "to hallow," as referring to the general act of giving praise, of acknowledging and glorifying God by *words*, as Socinus, Episcopius, Piscator, or to the acknowledging and glorifying of God in the heart and in the life, with which is connected as a consequence that others will be led to glorify him also Matt. 5:16. Thus Chrysostom, Euthym. Jerome, Augustin, Beza. The expression is taken in its largest sense, when the glorifying of God by word and by works is combined, as it is by Luther, who says, "this is indeed a short word, but in sense extends as wide as the world, against all false doctrine and life." And in the larger catechism: "now this is somewhat obscure, and not expressed in plain German (nicht wohl deutsch geredet), for in our mother tongue we should say thus: Heavenly Father, *help, that only thy name may be holy*—and how will it be holy amongst us? Answer: In the truest sense, when we can say that both our life and our

doctrine are christian." Just so Zwingle, and in a similar manner, the Heidelb. Catech. Calov. Fit sanctificatio nominis divini tripliciter : 1) *δογματικῶς* per sanam doctrinam, 2) *ἐνεργητικῶς*, per sanctam vitam, 3) *παθητικῶς*, per passiones ob evangelii confessionem toleratas. The interpretation of Cocceius—in aiming to distinguish better the second petition from the first—becomes quite peculiar : Dei nomen sanctificatur, 1) per obedientiam servatoris, 2) per verbum evangelii quo Christi justitia et Dei sanctitas manifestatur.

V. 10. The commencement of the divine work within us and upon us is the acknowledging and hallowing of God ; the form in which it appears, and, at the same time, the means by which it is carried on, is the kingdom of God, in type represented by Israel, in essence introduced by Christ and continually advancing through him nearer to its consummation. Thus the petition now before us is connected with the preceding one, and again with the following third which designates the ultimate aim, i. e. the removal of all discordant elements and the perfect union of the creature with the will of the creator. Thus these three petitions present to us a beginning, middle and end.

To understand the petition before us, it will be necessary to refer back to the developement of the idea *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* given at chap. 5: 3 of the Commentary. The substance of the petition would then be as follows : " May the holy community of God's obedient children, which originated in the person of Christ, the Son of God, by the progressive conquests of his redeeming power, continually gain over every opposing enemy a more complete establishment among individuals and mankind at large, and eventually unfold itself in that last consummation, when God shall be all in all. (1 Cor. 15:28)."

The history of the interpretation of the present passage exhibits also the same gradation, in respect to the greater or less scope given to the meaning of words, which has been mentioned above. The sense is left wholly indefinite by those interpreters who, as Pfannkuche, Rosenmueller, Meyer, render *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* *kingdom of the Messiah*, where the question continually recurs, in what sense Christ understood the phrase kingdom of the Messiah. The lowest position is assumed by those who with Grotius, Teller, Michaelis, give peculiar prominence here to the abstract notion alone of the spread of the doctrines or system of Christianity. A more enlarged view is taken

by those expositors, who, to use the language of Nitzsch,¹ *present the petition either in a moral and spiritual light, or in the light of prophetic history* (endgeschichtliche), i. e. who refer the "kingdom" either to the progressive victory of the Spirit of God within us and over us, or to the final victory in the history of the world, which is connected with the second coming of Christ. The former of these views is adopted by Jerome, Cyrill, Isidorus Pel., Gregory of Nyss., Zwingli, Socinus, Wetstein, the latter most decidedly by Tertullian² and Cyprian, whose exposition of the Lord's prayer Hilarius also assents to, by the auct. op. imp., by Euthymius, Theophyl., Piscator (videl. regnum gloriæ, nam de regno gratiæ sequitur in petitione tertia), by Maldonatus, who compares 1 Cor. 15: 28, and Rev. 6: 9, 10. The petition is taken in the most profound and comprehensive sense when both these views which indeed do not admit of being separated—are combined. The more, namely, Christ becomes the ruling principle in humanity, the nearer is the approach of that final period of consummation; for it is said, Christ must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. 1 Cor. 15: 25. In what a beautiful and spiritual manner this idea is seized and presented by Origen we have already remarked.³ Augustin takes a different view, and may be said to incline more to the prophetic-historical sense: *Adveniat accipiendum est: manifestetur hominibus. Quemadmodum enim præsens lux absens est coecis, et eis qui oculos claudunt, ita Dei regnum, quamvis nunquam discedat de terris, tamen absens est ignorantibus. Nullo autem licebit ignorare regnum Dei, cum ejus unigenitus non solum intelligibiliter sed etiam visibiliter in homine dominico de coelo venerit indicaturus vivos et mortuos.* Chrysostom in the homily on this passage takes the prophetic-historical view, but elsewhere the spiritual, vid. Suicer Obs. p. 219. The Heidelb. Catechism: "so rule us by thy word and spirit, that we may continually become more subject

¹ Nitzsch in an interesting essay in the Studien und Kritiken III. 4. S. 846, has discussed the question, why Tertullian places the third petition before the second, and makes on the occasion many excellent remarks respecting the interpretation of the Lord's prayer.

² It seems to be in consequence of the prophetic-historical view which Tertullian takes of the passage that he places this second petition after the third.

³ P 75 of the Commentary.

to thy will. Preserve and enlarge thy church, and destroy all the works of the devil, and every power that lifts itself against thee, and all evil counsels, which are devised against thy holy word, until the fullness of thy kingdom come, in which thou shalt be all in all." Luther : "The kingdom of God comes *first*, here in time, by the word of God and by faith, *secondly*, hereafter, in eternity, by manifestation." Com. Calvin and Chemnitz.

Γεννηθήτω τὸ θελημα σου κ. τ. λ. As was said before, this petition embraces the final result of the hallowing of God's name and of the coming of his kingdom, and consequently the reason for both. For what God has proposed as his end, is also the final cause of all he does. As it is said Ephes. 1: 4, "He hath chosen us through Christ before the foundation of the world that we should be holy and without blame before him in love," so it is for the realizing of this end that the kingdom of God is set up, and the name of God thus made known to men, that they may hallow it, John 17: 26. Minds created in the image of God can have no other rule, no other measure of their will but the divine will. (James 4: 12.) Sin was the introduction of self-will. The removal of this last is the end of all divine discipline. That which the prophets of the Old Testament describe as the terminating prospect of their prophetic vision, the time, when the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea, when neither sun nor moon shall shine, but the Lord shall be the light of his people, and they shall all be holy (Is. 4: 3. 11: 9. 60: 19—21. 61: 10, 11. 65: 24, 25). This the prophetic book with which the New Testament closes, resumes once more, and represents as the grand result of the kingdom of Christ, (Rev. 21: 3. 22: 23. 22: 3—5). *Οὐρανός* is not simply the dwelling place of God, but also of the spirits, in whom he eminently dwells, see p. 212; the *ἄγγελοι* are called by way of distinction *οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν οὐρανῶν*, or *ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, Matt. 24: 36. Mark 12: 25. Their purity and holiness, their doing the will of God, are asserted in Ps. 103: 21, (*ποιῶντες τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ*) Heb. 1: 14. Luke 15: 10, as also in the predicate *οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι*, Mark 8: 38. They formed originally with man in his state of innocence one unity. The fall which severed the link between man and God, broke also that between man and the holy world of spirits. By being reconciled to God through Christ, we are once more brought under one head with the heavenly spirits, Ephes. 1: 10, and in

the state of perfection enter into their society, Heb. 12: 22, 23. Until then the world of spirits who worship God in sinless purity are our consolation and our pattern. The sense of the petition is well expressed by Aretius, when he says : Summa petimus hic, ut aeterna Dei sententia de redemptione humani generis . . . compleatur et ad finem tandem perducatur. Quod cum indies in hac vita videmus fieri, tum demum in novissimo iudicio Christi iudicis finalis sententia his rebus omnibus colopponem imponet ; ac deinceps in piis voluntas Dei ad plenum locum habebit.¹

The history of the interpretation of this petition would seem to indicate that it has been attended with less doubt than the others. Yet some of the ancient interpreters allegorized the passage, in their peculiar manner ; particularly in the Latin church, where Tertullian, for instance, proposes the *interpretatio figurata*, that *heaven* and *earth* denote the antithesis of *spirit* and *body*. He afterwards prefers, however, "thy will be done towards us on earth *and* in heaven, ut salvi simus et in coelis et in terra"—for he reads, not sicut in coelis, as Cyprian, Ambrosius, Jerome, but simply in coelis et in terra. Cyprian also is acquainted with no other than the allegorical interpretation, that heaven and earth denote either *spirit* and *flesh* or the *pious* and the *wicked* ; and the inventive genius of Augustin furnishes the following series of explanations : 1. thy will be done, as to the righteous, so to the sinful, so that the sinful may be converted ; 2. thy will be done, as upon the righteous so upon the sinful in the last judgment, so that the former may receive their reward, the latter their merited condemnation ; 3. as by the angels, who are free from every earthly restriction, so let thy will be fulfilled also by men, who are subjected to earthly restrictions ; 4. as thy will is done in the spirit, so let it be done also in the bodily organization, when it shall hereafter partake of a glorified nature ; 5. as the earth is made fruitful by the heavens, heaven may denote Christ, and the earth, the church, which through Christ fulfils the divine will. Comp. sermo LVII.—The first and last of these explanations (the latter with a different turn) are mentioned also by Origen, who twice cites here Matt. 28: 18, in the form : ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξ-

¹ The opinion that *Θελημά σου* has a reference to the realizing of the *βασιλεία* is attacked though from too low a position, in an essay in Süsskind's Magazin für Dogm. u. Moral st. XIV. 5. 39.

ουσία ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, and then employs it as a suitable parallel: τῶν μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πεφωτισμένων· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς κ. τ. λ. “by those in heaven and who have formerly been enlightened by the word; and in the end of the world by those on the earth, etc.”—In modern times, there are moreover different opinions respecting the words *θέλημα* and *οὐρανός*. By *θέλημα* we have understood the will of God, so far as it is a law for rational spirits, so far as it has our sanctification for its object, 1 Thess. 4: 3, 7. Matt. 7: 21. 12: 50. 1 John 2: 17. Heb. 13: 21. But according to Beza we are not to suppose here the voluntas Dei jubens, but decernens, as in Matt. 26: 42, so that these words are not properly a petition, but a declaratio animi acquiescentis in voluntate Dei, not a petition that by divine assistance the will of God may be fulfilled *by us*, but that *God himself* would execute *his own will* upon us. With this view of the subject those also agree, who like Tertullian, and afterwards Priscaeus and Grotius, would restrict the meaning to that particular class of the divine determinations which *subjects* us to *trial*. Together with another interpretation, Tertullian gives this: jam hoc dicto ad sufferentiam nosmet ipsos prae monemus. In this special sense the explanation of *θέλημα* as the voluntas decernens cannot be approved, as, in this case, the ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ would be wholly without meaning. And if the expression is taken in the broader sense of Beza—against which, by the way, his friends Calvin and Piscator expressly contend—it would yet reduce itself to the one commonly received, as the voluntas Dei jubens is comprehended in the decernens, and the fulfilment of it must depend upon the divine assistance; but this interpretation will be adopted only in case it is not admitted that the several petitions are connected with each other. In respect to the phrase ἐν οὐρανῷ, it was Grotius who first considered it admissible to refer this expression to the course of the planets, whose uniform order may be regarded as a pattern even to rational beings. As Lucan expresses it:

sicut coelestia semper

inconcussa suo volvuntur sidera motu.

In this case we should have to compare, as parallel passages from the Old Testament, Genesis 8: 22. Ps. 104: 19. The passage in Clemens Rom. ep. ad Cor. I. c. 20. might also be referred to: ἡλιός τε καὶ σελήνη ἀστέρων τε χοροὶ κατὰ τ. διαταγὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὁμοιοῖα δίχα πάσης παρεκβάσεως ἐξελίσσουσιν

τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτοῖς ὁρισμούς. This explanation has been adopted with decided approbation by Michaelis. That heaven, as the region of the stars, may be used as an expression to denote the stars themselves, admits of no question. The stars are called αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν Matt. 24 : 29. οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Mark 13: 25. There is undoubtedly more propriety, however, in supposing kindred intelligent spirits to be presented as a pattern for men ; and besides, the reference to the angels has so many analogies from scripture, that we must out of question give it the preference before that to the inanimate heavenly bodies.

V. 11. From God the suppliant turns his view upon himself. The petition commences with inferiour wants, and asks first for the supply of temporal necessities, on the basis of the spiritual life ; then for liberation from every thing which, in the spiritual sphere, stands opposed to the realizing of the first three petitions, for the forgiveness of the sins of the past, for preservation from the temptation which threatens us in the future, and for final deliverance from all evil and impurity.

The explanation of this fourth petition depends upon the sense which is given to ἐπιούσιος. This word, it is true, has been the object of innumerable learned inquiries ; but there is room left, nevertheless, for still new investigations. Schultens calls the interpretation of ἐπιούσιος the carnificina theologorum et grammaticorum, and Alberti says, to think of getting at any exact meaning here is σπόγγω πάτταλον κρούειν to expect an impossibility. The disquisitions most worthy of remark are by the following learned men. In the first place, many of the philologists, and among those the most distinguished have given their opinions. William Buddæus in the comm. ling. Gr. s. h. v. Henry Stephens in the Thes. s. h. v., Jos. Scaliger epist. p. 810, also in the critici sacri ad h. l., Dan. Heinseus in the exercit. sacræ (ed. 1639.) p. 31., Cl. Salmasius in de foen. trap. p. 795., Is. Casaubon in exercit. Antibar. b. XVI. c. 39., Erasm. Schmid in the Comm. on the place, Balth. Stolberg in the Thes. disp. Amst. T. II. 123, John. Phil. Pfeiffer in the same, p. 116. Will. Kirchmayer Nov. Thes. disp. T. II. p. 189, Grotius on the place, Tanag. Faber ep. 2. p. 183. P. 2, Lewis Küster in Suidas s. h. v. and Toup epist. crit. p. 140, Alberti obs. in N. T. ad h. l., Segaar in the obs. philol. et theol. in ev. Luc. p. 298, Valckenaer in the selecta e scholiis Valck. T. I. p. 190, Fischer de vitüs lex. N. T. prol. XII. p. 312. A-

mong theological authors the following may be mentioned : Beza on the place, Abr. Scultetus exercit. b. II. c. 32, Godf. Olearius obs. sacræ ad h. l., Hen. Maius observ. sacra p. 5, Callov, Bengel, Wolf on the passage. Schleusner in the lexicon s. h. v. Fritzsche on the place.—Of those which have now been named Salmasius, Stolberg, Pfeiffer and Fischer, perhaps, are the most worthy of being consulted.

The word belongs to that class of words in the N. T. which are nowhere to be found in the 1200 works belonging to the Greek literature¹ which still remain; as is the case also with *πειθός* 1 Cor. 2: 4. *πιστικός* (which however, is found perhaps in Diog. Laert. IV. 6: 4, and Pollux onomast. IV. 21, where along with it *παραπιστικός* has it, emendation) Mark 14: 3, John 12: 3, *παροβολεύομαι*, Phil. 2: 20 according to Griesbach, Lachm., *εὐπεριστατος* Hebr. 12: 1. Even Origen, that thorough master of Greek learning, remarked this: *πρῶτον δὲ τοῦτ' ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ λέξις ἡ ἐπιούσιος παρ' οὐδενὶ τ. Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τ. σοφῶν ὠνόμασται, οὔτε ἐν τῇ τ. ἰδιωτῶν συνηθείᾳ τέτριπται, ἀλλ' ἔοικε πεπλάσθαι ὑπο τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν*, "in the first place we must know that the word *ἐπιούσιος* is neither named in any of the learned writers of Greece, nor does it occur in vulgar discourse, but seems to have been coined by the evangelists." He remarks that the seventy likewise employ similar unusual (ungriechische) expressions, as *ἐνωτιζέσθαι* and *ἀκουτιζέσθαι*.—The determination of the sense depends on the view taken of the etymology of the word. In the first place, however, we must examine the opinion of those who, in the general embarrassment, have thought it most advisable, to suppose an error of the copyist. Matthew, it is alleged, wrote *ΑΡΤΟΝΕΜΟΥΣΙΑΝ*, but some copyist erroneously repeated the *ΤΟΝ* and then *ΑΡΤΟΝΤΟΝΕΠΙΟΥΣΙΑΝ* became changed into *ἄρτον τὸν ἐπιούσιον*. Thus Pfannkuche;² and Bretschneider in his lexicon is inclined to give this hypothesis his approbation. Were this conjecture even more probable than it is, we should be backward at least in yielding it our assent, if for no other reason, because Luke has the same word, Luke 11: 3, and in neither place is there the least vestige of a various reading. In addition to this, the old Greek interpreters and even so good a linguist as Origen, notwithstanding that they acknowledge the un-

¹ Wolf's Museum, I. 25.

² In Eichhorn's Algem. Biblioth. Bd. X. p. 864.

commonness of the word, yet take no exception at its formation. But the hypothesis is not even recommended by its facilities; for in such a connexion *οὐσία* could not dispense with the article, and besides this without the article the hiatus remains. This hypothesis, therefore, cannot help us out of the difficulty.

The derivations of the word, from the most ancient times down to the most recent, fall into two classes: 1. the derivation from the root *εἶναι*. 2. the derivation from the root *λέναι*.¹ The oldest derivation, and that which has been most generally received is the former. Its grammatical propriety has, however, been called in question. Some had derived the adjective directly from the participle of the verb *εἶναι*, like *παρουσία*, *μετουσία* and perhaps also *περιουσία*; by far the most considered it as a compound of the preposition with the substantive *οὐσία*. It has been objected to this latter derivation by Olearius and others, that substantives in *ια* form the adjective regularly only in *αἰος*, *ώδης*. In fact, this is the rule: *ώραῖος*, *ἀγοραῖος*, *βιαῖος*, and from *οὐσία* not *οὔσιος*, but *οὔσιώδης*; and hence the adjectives *συνούσιος*, *περιούσιος*, *ἐτερούσιος*, are not to be derived from the substantive *οὐσία*, but from the feminine participle. Yet this assertion is by no means true in the unlimited sense. We find adjectives in *ιος* even from substantives ending in *ια*; e. g. *ἐγκοίλιος*, *πολυγωνίος*, besides *πολυγώνος* from *γωνία*, *ὑπεξούσιος* and *ἀντεξούσιος* from the substantive *ἐξουσία*, and *ἐνούσιος* and *ἐξούσιος* from *οὐσία*—also *περιούσιος* many of the ancients derive from *οὐσία*; the scholiast upon Thucyd. 1, 2, *ἡ περιουσία* = *ἡ περιρτή οὐσία*. Now if there is no adjective *οὔσιος* from *οὐσία* in its simple state, but only *οὔσιώδης*, yet these are compound adjectives, which are known to be admissible from the preceding examples.—The objection is a more important one, which was early made by the philologists Scaliger and Salmasius and afterwards by Grotius, and which has since been often repeated, that the hiatus with *ἐπί* is inadmissible. Others have supposed that they could remove this difficulty by adducing numerous examples of this hiatus in other words: *ἐπιανδάνω*, *ἐπιούρα*, *ἐπίοσσευμαι*, etc. See especially Pfeiffer and Alberti. These examples are, indeed, for the most part, from the epic language; instances, however, might also be produced from prose, as *ἐπιεικής*, *ἐπίορκος*, *ἐπίοργδος*. By these examples

¹ No one has thought it possible to derive the word from *ἐφήμι*, which Dr. Paulus ad l. notices as a third derivation, except the Doctor himself.

the later interpreters, as also Kuinoel and Fritzsche, have professed to be satisfied, yet the difficulty still remains, that ἐπί, whenever it is compounded with this particular verb εἶναι, regularly loses its ι; we find, for instance, the adjective ἐπουσιώδης which would answer to our ἐπιούσιος in Porphyrius Isag. c. 15. Jamblichus Protr. 3, without the hiatus. It might, indeed, be said, that even in prose, uniformity is not observed in all cases,¹ as, for instance, besides ἐπόπτομαι we find ἐπιόπτομαι (also ἐπίοπτος together with ἔπιοπτος), the latter, however, in the special sense of *selecting*; comp. Buttmann's ausführl. Gramm. II. p. 201. in the Remark; where Buttmann would also read ἐπιώψωνται in Plato leg. XII. p. 947. C.—We cannot consider this difficulty, therefore, as yet entirely removed; though we shall attempt below to contribute something more towards the explanation of the anomaly. As it was this grammatical difficulty especially which led many to reject the derivation of the word from εἶναι we will next proceed to examine its derivation from the root εἶναι, and notice the arguments for and against it.

This etymology, though with various modifications, has received, in expounding the sense, the approbation of several eminent philologists, as Heinse, Scaliger, Salmasius, Faber, Küster, Valckner, Fischer,² and also of many theologians, e. g. Grotius, Wetstein, Calov, Bengel, the dictionaries of Passow, Schwarz, Wahl, etc. It is also found, as we shall see, in several of the fathers.—First, all these philologists and theologians fall again into two classes: the one class refer the adjective to the particip. fem. ἡ ἐπιούσα, with the supplement of ἡμέρα. The others to ὁ ἐπιών, with the supplement of χρόνος. We shall speak first of the latter view. It has become common to derive the adjectives and substantives in οὔσιος and οὔσια from the fem. of the participle; but as that form is itself derived from the genitive form of the masculine, we see not what should prevent us from going back to the same source, especially as no influence of the feminine discovers itself in the signification, and as moreover even substantives in ων form adjectives in ουσιος, as πυγών, πυγούσιος, Ἀχερών, Ἀχερούσιος, Πηλὼν, Πηλούσιον, γε-

¹ In citations of the passage from the Dial. cum Tryphone c. 95. οὐδ' ὑμεῖς τολμήσετε ἀντιπεῖν I find also ἀντιειπεῖν. The edition of Paris and Cologne has ἀντιειπεῖν.

² Buddæus in the Comm. ling. Gr. and H. Stephens in his lexicon follow Suidas in adopting the common derivation from οὔσια.

ρών, γερούσια, and as, finally, we find also the two forms together, πυγούσιος and πυγωνιαῖος, Ἀχερόντιος and Ἀχερόνσιος, ἐκοντι and ἐκούσιως, γεροντία and γερούσια. Salmasius,¹ therefore, is right in deriving ἐκούσιος, ἐθελούσιος, Πηλούσιον from masculines in ων. After his example the learned Balth, Stalburg (in the Thesaur. nov. Diss. T. II.), and of late Lobeck ad Phrynich. p. 4. and Buttmann II. p. 337, refer besides to ἐνιαύσιος from ἐνιαυτός and φιλοτήσιος from φιλότης. When we shall speak hereafter of the spiritual interpretation of the word, we shall see, that at an early period Athanasius, Damascenus and others have also explained it: ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.—As it respects the derivation from ἡ ἐπιούσα, it is so far the more obvious as ἡ ἐπιούσια frequently occurs in the Old Testament, in the LXX. and in Josephus, elliptically, just as ἡ παροῦσα, ἡ προσιοῦσα, ἡ παρελθούσα are elsewhere found.² To this we may add, that this explanation seems peculiarly welcome, when we consider in connexion with it the fact, that Jerome informs us the word קמץ stood in the gospel to the Hebrews for ἐπιούσιος, an argument upon which Grotius lays a good deal of stress. It is true, an interdict has also been laid upon this etymology by Salmasius, and after him by Suicer on the score of grammar. No adjectives, they maintain, are formed from the elliptical feminines of the ordinal numbers, except in αἶος: δευτεραῖος, τριταῖος, δεκαταῖος, etc.; in the interrogative form ποσταῖος. This objection, however, is not well founded. We may say, first, that this form belongs in a peculiar sense at least to the proper numerals, (although we have too ἡ ὑστεραία, ἡ προτεραία); then, that the termination ιος gives to the adjective a wider scope of meaning, than the termination αἶος; we must accordingly admit, that the derivation of the word either from ἡ ἐπιούσα or from ὁ ἐπιών certainly has the advantage on the score of usage, though to no considerable extent, over the etymology from οὐσία. To this we may add the support, which

¹ De foen. trapez. p. 812.

² Chrysostom too we might suppose hinted at this derivation, when in the homily on this passage, after having explained the word by ἐφήμερος, he says: ὥστε μὴ περαιτέρω συντρίβειν ἑαυτοὺς τῇ φροντίδι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας. But his use of this particular expression ἡ ἐπιούσα ἡμέρα in this connexion, is accidental; we see also afterwards from his exposition of v. 25—34 in the 6th chap. of Matthew, that he did not derive ἐπιουσίος from ἐπιέναι. He explains it, moreover, a second time, in the former passage, by ἀναγκαῖος.

it receives from the fact, that Jerome found in the gospel to the Hebrews *mahar*, quod dicitur *crastinus*, although this circumstance is not to be considered so decisive, as Grotius supposes it to be. But whatever importance may be attached to these considerations, the objections which on the other hand arise against this derivation, on looking at the sense, are of still greater weight. If we translate directly: "Give us this day our bread for to-morrow," it is impossible, on the first impression, to avoid exclaiming with Salmasius: *Quid est ineptius, quam panem crastini dici nobis quotidie postulare?*¹ In fact, there have been but few interpreters, who have taken the words precisely in this sense. Yet Caninius among others says: "Christ has, indeed, forbidden us in chap. 6, to take thought for the morrow, but on account of our weakness *praecipit, ut patrem rogemus, qui nostrae infirmitati prospiciat nobisque pridie praebeat, quantum sufficere possit postridie.*" The remark of Michaelis is characteristic, and, in a psychological point of view, remarkable. "When we have enough for to-day, but nothing at all for the future, and see not upon what we are to live on the morrow, we are in a state of the extremest torture. We should even here, as Jesus will tell us v. 25—34, seek to drive away the tormenting anxiety by trust in God; but yet this is difficult, and it will continually return to disturb us anew, for God in order to the preservation of our race has given us a nature which looks forward into the future and feels concerned to provide for it. Let a man only suppose himself in the case, for example, where he is suddenly bereft of his means of subsistence, and has no store, no prospects for the future; the situation is surely an unpleasant one, and much as he may struggle against it, will not leave him without care, nay will cause him sleepless nights. A small store for the future, sufficient at least to save one from the absolute necessity of living only for the present day with hunger and the want of shelter before one on the morrow, is itself too, we must allow, a great blessing from God."

The majority of this class of interpreters concur in the explanation proposed by Grotius, who takes *ἡ ἐπιούσα* in the

¹ It looks almost like a satire upon the rendering *crastinus* dies, when Erasmus, who ad Matt. 6, and ad Luc. 11. defends this version, remarks in the latter passage, it may be supposed the prayer is offered in the evening, and then the petition is actually for the following day: *et qui vesperi petit pro victu postridiano, quid aliud petit, quam victum quotidianum?*

broader sense as designating the future, and appeals for his support to the broader sense in which the Heb. מחר is used. It is singular, that he did not rather appeal to the Greek usage, as ἡ ἐπιούσα in the usus loquendi of the Greeks denotes the future in general, it may almost be said more frequently than to-morrow in the more limited sense—but σήμερον he makes synonymous with the plenior hebraismus, as he calls it, σήμερον σήμερον, so that the word should be rather rendered postridianus, and understood in the sense of quotidianus. Thus it is taken by Bengel, Olearius, Rosenmueller, Kuinoel, and many others. The petition would then run thus ; “ Give me this day and each future day, what I need in the future.” This sense would not be exceptionable, but the explanation of σήμερον is altogether contrary to the use of language. Σήμερον is not equivalent to τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν in Luke. Neither did the Hebrew express τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν by σήμερον σήμερον, for σήμερον is equivalent to היום with the article, but daily is expressed by יום יום, or יום ביום, which the LXX render ἡμέραν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Neh. 8:18, or τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν εἰς ἡμέραν Ex. 16:5, or ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας Gen. 39:10. But if σήμερον be not taken in the precise sense of τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν, no suitable sense arises from the above mode of rendering ἐπιούσιος. Socinus, for instance, Chemnitz, Pasor, Elsner, and others, render the word : succedaneus, adventitius, quem non suffecit semel accepisse, sed quem in hac vertentium temporum vicissitudine quotidie necesse est nobis advenire. Pasor : demensum nostrum, quod nec superfluit nec deficit, da nobis hodie, i. e. hac quoque die. These explanations bring more into the word than can lie in it ; yet suppose that we allow this signification—we should be under the necessity of requiring at least καὶ σήμερον.—Those who do not adopt the view of Grotius have also fallen upon singular interpretations. According to Alex. Morus the word contains an allusion to the dispensation of the manna on Friday, which sufficed also for the sabbath, so that the sense would be : give us to-day our bread, but at the same time so much as may be sufficient for to-morrow.—Calov : quod spirituali nostrae necessitati supervenit, nam non primarium est.—The objection, then, which lies against the derivation of the word from ἐπιέναι on the score of the sense is much stronger than that which lies against its derivation from οὐσία on the score of the grammatical form. The best defence which this sense admits of is to say that Christ has indeed forbidden us to take thought for the morrow, but he who prays

feels no such anxiety ; yet to this one might properly reply with Augustin, that a prayer for any thing, in which the heart is not seriously interested, is no true prayer. He who actually feels in his heart the inclination, always to look in his daily prayer beyond the limits of the present day, cannot be truly said, to be in that state of mind which becomes the Christian.—In conclusion a single remark deserves to be added, that the Jewish prayers also ask, only that God would give to each—not what he may need for the future, but *כִּרְפָּר־נַסְתּוֹ*, “*what is necessary for his subsistence.*” We, therefore, return once more to the derivation from *εἶναι*. In favour of this, as we have already shown, is the authority of the fathers, and particularly of that master of language, Origen ; also, that of the Syrian translator, and, as we shall show, its perfect adaptation to the sense of the passage.

In the first place the question may arise : whether the adjective is derived directly from the part. fem. of the verb, as Scultetus supposes, or whether it is a word compounded of the preposition and the substantive. It is surprising that Scultetus should object to the latter view, that in this case the hiatus would be inadmissible, as if in the former case the hiatus would not be still more exceptionable. It seems to us most probable, that the Evangelist formed the word after the analogy of *περιούσιος*. In what way he derived it cannot be decided, yet the derivation from *οὐσία* was certainly the most obvious, and moreover, we may account for the hiatus from this formation, after the analogy of *περιούσιος*.—The word *οὐσία* occurs in the ancient writers chiefly with the signification of *property*, in which sense it is found also in the Rabbinic and in the Syriac. Further, in the sense of *τὸ εἶναι*, *existence*, *life*, Sophocl. Trach. v. 911. ἄπαις οὐσία—further, in Plato with the concrete signification ; this being, according to the remark of Heindorf on Phædo p. 41. used first in this sense since Plato's time. Finally : at a still later period, equivalent to *ὑλη*, see Wytttenbach on Plutarch. Moralia II. p. 825. The fathers balance between the signification *being*, namely, of the body, and *existence* ; both significations often run into each other ;¹ Chrysostom in the homily

¹ It is precisely so with *ὑπόστασις* which Stephanus, after the example of Buddæus, would distinguish from *οὐσία*, so that the latter should mean *essentia*, the former, *substantia*. But both words have both significations, and are also used as synonymous in them. Respecting the philosophical signification of *οὐσία*, consult Aristotle Categoriæ. I.

de instituenda secund. Deum vita: ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον, τουτέστιν, ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ σώματος διαβαίνοντα καὶ συγκροτῆσαι ταύτην δυνάμενον; Gregory of Nyssa, orat. IV. in orat. dom. ζητεῖν προσετάχθημεν τὸ πρὸς τὴν συντήρησιν ἑξαρχοῦν τῆς σωματικῆς οὐσίας. So also Basilus in Reg. brev. Interr. 252. τὸν ἐπιούσιον ἄρτον, τουτέστι, τὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐφημέριον ζωὴν τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν χορησιμεύοντα. On the other hand, Theophylact in Matth. VI. ἄρτος ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ συστάσει ἡμῶν ἀντάρκης, and on Luke 11: ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν, καὶ συστάσει τῆς ζωῆς συμβαλλομένος· οὐχ ὁ περιττός παντός, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀναγκαῖος. Euthymius: ἐπιούσιον δὲ προσηγόρευσε τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ ὑπάρξει καὶ συστάσει τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτήδειον. Suidas and Etym. Magn. ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν ἀρμόζων. So also the Peshito ܐܪܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܢܐ “the bread of our necessity,” while in words, the Hierosol. has directly the opposite ܐܪܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܢܐ “our superfluous bread,” so that ἐπὶ, therefore, is taken to denote the *direction, the going to* an object. In the other expositors it is taken as a designation of the aim, the direction, so that with perfect propriety the signification is derived “what serves for our existence, our support.” The objection of Fritzsche: at nihil poterat ἐπὶ efferre, nisi *rei aptæ* cogitationem, ut esse deberet panis naturæ accommodatus, is too refined. That a thing is adapted to a certain use, and that it actually subserves that use, are two notions intimately connected with each other.

To what purpose had God adapted food to the use of the human body, if it were not too actually made to subserve that use? ¹ Now this interpretation is the one to which we give the decided preference. The ἐπιούσιον stands in the middle, between the τὸ ἑλλειπές and the περιττόν or περιούσιον, and signifies *that which is just enough*. Thus understood, the petition has various analogous passages both in the Old and in the New Testament. Prov. 30: 8, Solomon prays: give me neither poverty nor riches, ܠܐ ܕܥܝܒܐ ܕܥܝܒܐ—this answers to the present passage: ܩܐ signifies a portion measured out, as Jarchi on Gen. 47: 22 explains it. Symmachus translates δίαίτα ἱκανή. Chamberlain in his Hebrew version of the Lord's prayer and the London Hebrew translator of the N. T. have rendered these words ܩܐ ܕܥܝܒܐ. James c. 2: 16 has the expression τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῦ σώματος, which the Syriac translates as in the passage before us. Finally, we may compare also 1 Tim. 6: 8. Heb.

¹ Compare c. g. ἐπιθανάτιος mortis addictus, ἐπιτήδειος—according to Buttmann from ἐπὶ τάδε.

13: 5. In this view of the petition, not only does no contradiction arise with Matt. 6: 25, but the passage stands in the most perfect harmony with v. 34, where concern for the present day is permitted. Should it be objected that in verses 25 and 31 all concern about temporal things is forbidden, and that in v. 33 it is simply said that temporal things shall be added unto us, we may first appeal to v. 34, where the *ἀρομετὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ κακία αὐτῆς* shows that the preceding declarations are not to be taken quite in an absolute sense, and next we may urge the *πρῶτον* in v. 33 which shows that the kingdom of God is to be sought only before every thing else, not to the exclusion of all concern about temporal things. It is moreover by our interpretation only, that its just right is allowed to *σήμερον*. This word, as we have already remarked, is not identical with the *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν* of Luke. If the ancient Latin Vulgate has here translated *quotidianus*, it was not because it so understood the meaning of *σήμερον*; it certainly renders this word on the contrary, by *hodie*; neither was it, as many suppose, with reference to the passage in Luke, but it translates rather with reference to the sense, just as Chrys., Suidas, and others explain the word also by *ἐφ' ἡμέρας*, with reference to the sense. The translations of Beza and of Castellio: *panis cibarius* and *victus alimentarius* are therefore to be preferred, although we should rather choose the word *sufficiens*. The *σήμερον* fully describes the disposition of mind proper for the suppliant, who permits his thoughts to descend only for a moment as Chrysostom rightly explains it: *οὐκ εἰς πολὺν ἔτιων ἀρίθμον αἰτεῖν ἐκελεύσθημεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄρτον σήμερον ἡμῖν ἀρκοῦντα μόνον*, "for who knows," he adds, "whether thou wilt be still alive on the morrow?" "This particular limitation of time," says Isidorus, "transports us to the summit of wisdom."

It only remains that we should notice the interpretations of those, who consider the petition as referring to *spiritual bread*. Before proceeding to this, however, we may add one more interpretation, which was first proposed by Steck in an essay in the *Tempe Heb.* (Tig. 1741) T. V. fasc. 4. then by Lambert Bos and Alberti; and which strikes out into an entirely new path. *Ὀυσία* is taken in the usual signification, *opes*, *peculium*: *ἐπιούσιος* means that which constitutes a part of one's own property; believers have become the children of God, they pray therefore for the necessities of this life, for that *which now reverts to them as their property*. Alberti compares Luke

15: 12.—*πάτερ, δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας*—an ingenious interpretation, to which, passing by other objections, we need only reply by asking, what authorizes us then to consider the goods of the body in particular as the property of the children of God? Are not these, on the contrary, the peculium of all men, on the simple ground of their being creatures; nay, according to c. 6: 26 even of the irrational creation? Is not directly the opposite view given in Luke 16: 11, 12, where the goods of the body are called *τὰ ἀλλότρια*,¹ but those of the spirit, *τὸ ὑμέτερον* and *τὸ ἀληθινόν*? Alberti seems himself to have felt this difficulty, from the following remark: *petunt, ut tamquam benignus paterfamilias hoc peculium filiis concedat et spiritu alibus bonis tamquam vero suo patrimonio adjiciat*. Whence it would appear, that he balanced between his own interpretation and that of Calov mentioned above: *id quod accedit, superadditur veris bonis*; thus this interpretation would belong to the class which takes *οὐσία* in the spiritual sense. The interpretation of Steck is still more peculiar: “that which is added to our patrimony,” i. e. which we have *earned by our labour*; hence an admonition to personal exertion, with which he compares 2 Thess. 3: 12.

That the words of the prayer have been understood in a spiritual sense can occasion no surprise when we consider how frequently the figurative language of scripture compares spiritual blessings with meat and drink, comp. John 6: 33—35. Heb. 6: 4, 5 ff. Indeed the more special reference to the Lord's supper was obviously suggested by John 6: 51, 53—55. The passage was early explained by Origen with allusion to John 6, as referring to the *ἄρτος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατάβας*, which became converted into the *οὐσία* of the spirit, as the corporeal bread into the *οὐσία* of the body.² The words are explained in like manner, as referring to spiritual food, by Tertullian, Cyprian, Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Isidorus Pelusiota, Ambrosius, Augustin, Jerome, Beda, Mascinus Turinensis, Cassianus, Anselm, Eras-

¹ Compare the excellent exposition of Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. p. 605. to what extent the external goods of the Christian are to be called *ἀλλότρια*, and how far again they may be his own.

² Other passages of Scripture also, which speak of bodily nourishment, he explains as referring to spiritual food. Thus Ps. 65: 10, *ἡτοίμασας τ. τροφὴν αὐτῶν*, he understands of the *τροφὴ πνευματικὴ*, which is prepared in Christ *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*. vid. Corder. catena in Ps. T. II. 270.

mus, Legerus, Bellarmin, Luther (in the two expositions of the Lord's prayer of 1518—otherwise in the catechisms), Zwingle,¹ Henr. Majus, Peter Zorn (*vindicie pro perpetua veteris ecclesie traditione de Christo pane ἐπιουσίῳ* in *Opusc. sacr. I.*),² and in modern times by Pfannkuche and Olshausen.³ The passages which relate to this point are enumerated in Suicer, *Observat.* p. 248, and in the *Thesaurus eccles.* p. 1173, and still more completely in Pfeiffer's *Thesaur. Theol. Philol. T. II.* p. 120. We have comprehended all these expositions together, although there is again a difference of opinion among them in the particular mode of explaining the passage. Some of them, for instance, admit that in connexion with the reference to corporeal bread there is also an allusion to spiritual;⁴ many understand by the spiritual bread only the *doctrina Christi*, the *verbum Dei*; many, the spiritual influence of Christ; many suppose the passage refers at the same time, and many that it refers exclusively to the Lord's supper. The reference to the spiritual food of Christ generally, and particularly to the Lord's supper, we find already in Tertullian, and Cyprian; whether it is also found in Cyrill of Jerusalem, has been considered doubtful, but in all probability this is the case (*s. Touttée ad catech. 23. Mystag. 5*). In his work upon the Sermon on the Mount, Augustin still

¹ Zwingle says: In the Greek it is *supersubstantial*. For God truly nourishes and sustains our substance, and that too with true and substantial food. Yet we pray the Lord nevertheless in this petition for the necessities of life. For bread with the Hebrews means every species of food. He who feeds the soul, how should he not also feed the body?

² The rigid Lutherans shuddered at this as an heretical interpretation. To a citizen of Wittenberg, who expounded the fourth petition as referring to *spiritual* bread, the alternative was proposed either immediately to renounce this error, or to leave the city. The Wittenberg Professor Wernsdorf appeared as the antagonist of Maius in Giessen, and of Zorn. *Comp. Spener's theol. Bedenken. I. s. 144.* and *Walch Religionsstreitigkeiten in der luth. Kirche. Th. V. 1167.*

³ Ulfilas has: *hlaif unsarana sinteinan*, our ever-enduring bread—did he understand this of spiritual bread?

⁴ Thus the Greek glossators, who borrowed from their fathers the reference of the petition to corporeal nourishment, afterwards added the reference to the spiritual. Theophylact and Euthymius interpret it, in an additional clause, of the Lord's supper.

rejects the reference to the Lord's supper; in the sermon¹ on the Lord's prayer (Tom. V. Bened. p. 234.) he makes the panis quotidianus refer at the same time 1. to corporeal bread, 2. to the food by the word of Christ, 3. to that by the sacrament. That this reference to the Lord's supper should continually become more general, is easily conceivable. The fact is explained from the constantly increasing veneration of the sacrament; in consequence of which it also received appellations, which readily suggested the petition in the Lord's prayer: ὁ ἄρτος ἅγιος, ἄρτος ζωῆς, εὐλογηθεὶς, ἱεροποιούμενος (v. Casaubonus, Exercit. Anti-Baron. XVI. c. 39.) The uncommonness of the word ἐπιούσιος, naturally favoured among the Orientals every mystical interpretation; but even this plain quotidianus of the Latin version, though properly it did not favour the reference of the petition to the Lord's supper, yet served to encourage that view, as the daily participation in this ordinance as a standing custom in the Western church down to the time of Augustin. And although in modern times the occidental interpreters of the catholic Church continue to balance between the reference to spiritual food generally, and the reference to the sacrament, yet the latter is the prevailing view, and is also exhibited as the *first* in the glossa ordinaria.²

We now proceed to examine the arguments in favour of, and against, this interpretation. In the first place, we must notice two modifications of the opinion: a number of the Greek fathers, for instance, derive the word from ἐπιέναι, and understand by it the ἄρτος τοῦ αἰῶνος μέλλοντος, that heavenly bread which is the portion of believers in the future life, comp. Luke 14: 15, but which may also be communicated to them even in the present world. Origen himself mentions this interpretation in speaking of the etymology of the word from ἔναι, and rejects it, yet without presenting his reasons. So too the translations of Upper and of Lower Egypt—from a predilection for the mystical—have crastinus and venturus (see the latter in the work of Cramer, Beiträge, etc. Th. III. p. 61.) Next, this view appears in the writings of Athanasius, Damascenus, Pseudo-Ambrosius and others, whose remarks may be found collect-

¹ He gives as his reason, that the Lord's prayer could not otherwise be offered in the evening.

² Panis corpus Christi est, ut verbum Dei, vel ipse Deus, quo quotidie gemus.

ed in Suicer and Pfeiffer. The word is understood in the same sense by Pfannkuche, who moreover takes particular notice of the fact, that in the cabbalistic use of language רִחַן forms the antithesis to $\alpha\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$; Augustin also had understood *hodie* as referring to the present life (in hac temporali vita). Aside from the general reasons against such a construction of the petition, we may mention as a particular objection to it the intolerable antithesis, in which, in this case, $\sigma\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ would stand with the $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$ or $\alpha\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\nu\varsigma$. Should we even concede, that $\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ might, without further modification, signify: the heavenly bread of the future world,—a sense in support of which, however, no example can be adduced from the *usus loquendi* of the sacred scriptures, yet by the bread of the future world it would here be necessary to understand that particular blessedness which is not to be enjoyed while we are in the present life. How then can it be given to us here and that too every day? Is it said, $\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ is simply the power and spirit of Christ, in which the kingdom of God comes to us daily? We must deny that $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ can have this signification. The phrase in this case would stand, as in John, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau.\ \omicron\upsilon\theta\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon$, or as in Paul, 1 Cor. 10: 4, $\beta\rho\omega\tilde{\mu}\alpha\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\text{-}\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu$.

According to the other etymology, the word is compounded with $\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$, and the question arises, how the $\epsilon\pi\iota$ in this compound is to be understood. It is well known that Jerome first translated it *supersubstantialis*,¹ in which he is followed by the German version of Emser.² But it is evident that in this case the preposition $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ should have stood in the place of $\epsilon\pi\iota$, just as we find the adjective $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ in the mystic, speculative sense in Dionysius Areopagita (s. e. q. de div. nomm. c. XI. §

¹ In consulting Jerome, the passage in his Com. upon Titus 2: 12. ought not to be overlooked, where he speaks a great deal more at large respecting $\epsilon\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ and $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ than in the Com. on Matthew, adduces the passage John 6: 5, and mentions, moreover, that "some suppose it is the bread, which is, *super omnes $\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$* ." In the Com. on Matthew, he also remarks, that others prefer, "in accordance with Tim. 6: 8. to consider the passage as referring simply to bodily nourishment."

² Emser: "das uberselbständige Brod." Luther also in the exposition of 1518 gives the three translations: *uberwesentlich*, *ausgewählt*, *Morgenbrote* (*panis crastinus*) and would combine the sense of all the three.

6.) and in the scholia of Maximus. If the appeal is made, as it has been done, to *ἐπιλογος* and to *ἐπιμέτρον*, which is yet equivalent to *ὑπέρμετρον*, it would be a mistake, for *ἐπί* here also signifies only what has been added to the just measure. In taking the word therefore in the spiritual sense, *ἐπί* can only be explained as in the other case when the word is understood in the corporeal sense: "that which is serviceable and necessary to the existence, i. e. to the true existence." Thus Origen has explained it, and in like manner Cyrill of Jerusalem: *ὁ ἐπιούσιος ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἐπὶ τ. οὐσίαν τ. ψυχῆς κατατασσόμενος*. Olshausen has not entered into a minute examination of the grammatical import of the word. If the grammatical exposition of its sense which has already been given is admitted to be just in case the passage is understood of corporeal bread, it must also be allowed to be admissible in that view of the passage which is now under consideration. We proceed now to inquire into the grounds upon which this spiritual interpretation is founded; and shall exhibit the arguments which have lately been presented by Olshausen. 1. The entire prayer is composed only of spiritual requests. We reply by repeating what has often been said, we should expect, for this very reason, that the prayer would certainly contain a petition referring to our earthly wants. If this prayer is a complete form, in which, as was early remarked by Chrysostom and Augustin, all the desires of our heart should ascend, then provided it is suitable for Christians to pray at all for earthly things, the prayer must contain a petition which takes also into view their earthly wants. But godliness has the promise of the life that *now is* as well as of that which is to come, 1 Tim. 4: 8; Paul bids Christians pray for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, 1 Tim. 2: 2, in which the wish is expressed for a peaceable enjoyment of the daily necessities of life: Christians, according to Paul's direction, should labour, that they may have wherewith to supply their own wants, and something also to bestow on others, Ephes. 4: 28. 1 Thess. 4: 11. 5: 12. 2 Thess. 3: 10, 12. Now if such labour were not to be sanctified by prayer, the consciousness of our dependence upon God would be wanting in respect to the greatest part of our present active existence. Prayer for earthly things is therefore essentially connected with industry, in order that industry may be sanctified, and that man may acknowledge his dependence on God in reference to his earthly work as well as in reference to

his spiritual.¹ 2. Again it is said that in the following c. 6: 25, this very care for the body is thrown into the back ground as relating to a matter of subordinate importance. We reply: it is also made to take the same subordinate place in our petition, first, inasmuch as but one petition has reference to our earthly concerns, and next, because only so much is prayed for, as may serve for our subsistence, and even that only for the present day; as Chrysostom says, ἄσπον ἐκέλευσεν αἰτεῖν ἐπιούσιον οὐ τρυφήν ἀλλὰ τροφήν. 3. The word ἐπιούσιος indicates spiritual food. How it has any such allusion Olshausen does not inform us. Ὀυσία means simply *existence*; and there is no apparent reason, why we should suppose the reference is to the

¹ This is well expressed by Luther, where, in the smaller catechism he says in reply to the question, what is that? "God gives their daily bread even without their asking for it, to all wicked men: but we ask in this prayer, that he would lead us to *acknowledge* it, and to *receive* our daily bread with thankfulness." Spener also, theol. Bedenk. I. c. 1. sect. 16, decides against the spiritual view of the petition, and that too, particularly "because it is essential to the Christian that he should not receive the temporal blessings of providence without prayer and thankfulness." Among the ancient interpreters, the original but often spiritual and profound author of the opus imperf. in Matth. gives this thought peculiar prominence. He remarks that the prayer does indeed seem unmeaning in the mouth of those, whom God has bountifully supplied against all future need, and answers the objection thus: Ita ergo intelligendum est, quia non solum ideo oramus: "panem nostrum da nobis," ut habeamus, quod manducemus, sed ut, quod manducemus, de manu Dei accipiamus. Nam habere ad manducandum, commune est inter justos et peccatores; frequenter autem et abundantius peccatores habent, quam just. De manu autem Dei accipere panem non est commune, sed tantum sanctorum. Praeparare ergo non vetant haec verba, tamen cum peccato praeparare vetant. Nam qui cum justitia praeparat, illi Deus dat panem, quem manducat; qui autem cum peccato, illi non dat Deus sed diabolus. Nam omnia quidem a Deo creantur, non tamen Deo omnia subministrantur. Vel intelligendum est ita, ut, dum a Deo datur, sanctificatus accipiat: et ideo non dixit: panem quotidianum da nobis hodie, sed addidit: Nostrum, id est, quem habemus jam praeparatum apud nos, illum da nobis, ut, dum a te datur sanctificetur. Ut puta, si laicus offerret sacerdoti panem ut sacerdos accipiens sanctificet, et porrigat ei: quod enim panis est, offerentis est: quod autem sanctificatus est, beneficium est sacerdotis.—Chrysostom on the last verse of the 6th chap. makes remarks somewhat of the same kind. Comp. Basilii Rev. brev. Interr. 252.

spiritual rather than to the corporeal existence. Origen distinguishes in an acute and sensible manner the twofold reference of *οὐσία* to the corporeal and spiritual being, and grounds his assertion that *οὐσία* in the present case denotes the corporeal existence, only upon the fact—which he takes for granted—that the *bread* is spiritual.—A more important argument, perhaps, would be this : If the petition were only a request for the competent supply of our wants, why employ a word of so unusual a form ? We have already explained that we suppose the word to be formed after the analogy of *περιούσιος*, and this supposition is sufficient to explain the uncommonness of the form.

We must be permitted to doubt, that the Evangelists or Christ would have employed simply *ἡ οὐσία* to designate the *true* existence, without more distinctly defining the meaning by some word like *ἀληθινός*. What term would it have been necessary for Christ to use, in order to express without further addition the spiritual being or existence ? Perhaps the same Greek word which we find in the Rabbinic and Syriac אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהִים ? Is the word of so high antiquity among the Rabbins and Syrians ?¹ But even if it were, who could have understood it without further addition, as it far more frequently occurs in the Rabbinic in the sense of *opes* and even of *ager*, (s. Buxtorf, Lex. Talm. s. h. v.) ? Or did Christ say בְּרֵי גְּהֵנָה or בְּרֵי גְּהֵנָה ? It would have been impossible to understand this of spiritual being without some further addition. And to what purpose would have been these unusual expressions, departing so widely from the usage of the New Testament, *when so many other terms for this idea lay near at hand*, and were universally current ? This notion is expressed every where else in the New Testament by *ἀληθινός*, *πνευματικός* (1 Cor. 10: 3, 4), *οὐράνιος*.—But if Christ spoke of corporeal bread, he might have made use of the following expressions : בְּרֵי לֶקְיִים, בְּרֵי לֶקְיִים, בְּרֵי לֶקְיִים. We might also, perhaps, suppose בְּרֵי לֶקְיִים, which is the rendering in the Heb. version of Münster—which, however, we do not approve. Viewed in this light also, the reference to corporeal bread recommends itself as the most satisfactory.

¹ James of Edessa (at the close of the 7th century) remarks, that the Syrians first introduced the Greek word אֱלֹהִים into their language about a hundred years before his time. Assemani, Bibl. Orient. I. 479.

Respecting ἄρτος we need only remark, that like אֶרֶץ, it is used in the New Testament in the broader sense, e. g. 2 Thess. 3: 12, in which sense also it afterwards passed over into the latter Greek: comp. e. g. ἄρτον βεβαρημένον ἐσθίειν s. Du Cange Gloss. Graec. med. s. h. v. The modern Greeks employ ψωμί with the same general meaning. From the appended ἡμῶν some have attempted to draw an argument in favour of the spiritual, others in favour of the literal interpretation. No conclusion can be drawn from it either way, it signifies the bread which we need, which is intended for us. Euth. ἄρτον δὲ ἡμῶν εἶπεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς γεγόμενον.

ARTICLE VIII.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*A Commentary on the book of Psalms; on a plan embracing the Hebrew text, with a new literal version. By George Bush, Prof. of Heb. and Orient. Lit. in the New-York City University. New-York, Leavitt, Lord & Co. 1834. pp. 80.*

This Commentary is designed to be published in Numbers, at intervals of about three months. The whole work will probably be embraced in ten or twelve numbers. As most of the Psalms have no special connection with each other, a periodical issue was thought to be preferable to a delay of two or three years in publishing the entire work. The first number includes the preface; an introduction, (in which are considered the general title of the Psalms, the collection and arrangement, the titles and authors, musical accompaniments, poetical characteristics, the subject of imprecations, principles of interpretation, list of the most important critical works on the Psalms); and a translation of the first three psalms, with a commentary. The introductory matter occupies twenty-four pages. *Clear exposition* is the paramount purpose of the author. Though he

has the benefit of scholars especially in view, yet the intelligent reader, who simply understands English, it is supposed, may derive essential advantage from the work. In the literal version appended to the original text, the words of the established translation have been always retained whenever they appeared to be the most suitable; no departures being made from it with a view to greater elegance or euphony. The notes are designed principally to elucidate the force, import and pertinency of the words and phrases of the original, by the citation of parallel instances, and to throw light upon the images and allusions of the sacred writers by reference to the customs, manners, laws, geography, etc. of the east.

It would be manifestly improper to give any decided opinion of the merits of a commentary on one hundred and fifty psalms, when a tithe only is published. We shall, therefore, mainly confine ourselves to the correction of a few errors. On p. 19, 3d line, *eorum* is printed *corum*; p. 21, 5th line, the word *be* is omitted; p. 26, Ps. 1: 1, the word *לְצִיִּים* is omitted; p. 49, 3d verse of the second Ps. the simple *Sheva* is wanting under the first letter of the first word; same page, 7th line from the bottom, the final *Hholem* is omitted in the Hebrew word there quoted. Last line of page 54, reference is to Ps. 72: 6, instead of 22: 6; p. 59, 6th line from the bottom, the word *אֶתְּמַר* is printed *אֶתְּמַר*; p. 65, 6th line from the bottom, *מִן* is printed *מִן*; p. 75. second line of the notes, *remembering* is substituted for *reminding*. Middle of p. 78, *Chenaanah* is printed *Chenaniah*, and *Micaiah* is printed *Micah*. In many cases, the letters in a Hebrew word are not separated by equal spaces, especially where the vowel *Hholem* occurs. The oversight gives to one word the appearance of two. The Greek words should have the usual accents. The insertion of them is certainly desirable, for the sake of conforming to general usage, if for no other reason. We doubt the propriety of the use of the words *overladens* p. 20, *distressers* p. 70, *leaguring* p. 77. We are aware that the above criticisms are minute, and do not affect at all the general merits of the commentary, yet they are not unimportant. Every author and publisher, particularly of works of this sort, ought to aim at entire accuracy. The proof-reader should look well to his calling. The mechanical execution in general, we are happy to say, is neat and highly respectable.

In regard to the imprecations in the Psalms, Prof. Bush

comes to the following conclusions. "They are the promptings of the Spirit of inspiration under the influence of which the Psalmist wrote. In other words, they are the effect of a strong prophetic impulse, leading him to denounce the just awards of heaven against the enemies of God and of his anointed. Considered in this aspect, they are to be classed with the prophetic curse of Noah uttered against the posterity of Ham. It is also to be borne in mind that David was raised to the throne by the special designation of heaven; that in the administration of the government of Israel, he did in part represent the person of Jehovah himself; and consequently that the enemies of David were the enemies of God. David, also, in the Psalms, often speaks in the person of the Messiah. Many of the severest denunciations which flowed from his pen are to be regarded as in fact directed in the name of Christ, against the bold impugnors and rejecters of the gospel.

On another most important subject, Prof. Bush thus expresses himself:

Of modern expositors a large proportion, it is well known, have employed much ingenuity and learning in the attempt to find the immediate subject of every Psalm either in the prominent events of David's life, or in the history of the Jewish nation. But the point to be settled is, whether in doing this the interpreter satisfies all the requirements of his task. Is there not, in many cases, superadded to the primary and literal sense, another and higher scope, a mystical or spiritual purport, which it is his province to unfold? And if so, by what rules of hermeneutics is he to be guided in determining when such a purport exists, and what it is?

It would lead us too far from our main design to enter into the intricacies of this subject, in all its bearings, and we shall therefore simply observe in relation to the Psalms, that although in many of them none but a historical sense can be detected, yet in others it can be as little doubted that an ulterior and spiritual meaning is involved. David, as the author of many of the Psalms, is expressly denominated in the New Testament 'a prophet,' that is to say, his Psalms have a prophetic scope; the spirit of inspiration, under the influence of which he wrote, having grafted upon the letter of his effusions an interior sense, of which he himself, it may be, was but imperfectly, if at all, aware. But 'the spirit of prophecy,' we are expressly assured, 'is the testimony of Jesus;' that is, this is the great end and aim of the spirit of prophecy, to bear testimony to the person, work, and offices of Jesus; its ultimate scope is to do honour to him; to make him known as the grand central object of all revelation.

Admitting then the general principle of a prophetic and spiritual interpretation of many of the Psalms, it is at the same time conceded that we cannot arbitrarily assume its application; this must be governed by the evidence peculiar to each particular instance; and the principles of such evidence may be expressed in the two following rules;—(1) That the sense resulting from a cautious and critical explication of the terms of the passage, and an impartial construction of the whole sentence according to the known usage of the language and the writer, must be such as naturally and justly to refer to the Messiah, and such as cannot without violence be applied to any other subject. (2) That the sense assumed be such as is either positively affirmed or manifestly implied by the writers of the New Testament in their citations from the old.

We have, accordingly, been guided principally by these canons in our interpretation of such of the Psalms as seemed to require their application. Of this a very adequate example occurs in the preface and notes to the second Psalm. Although by no means disposed to adopt the *polydynamic* hypothesis of Cocceius and other spiritualizing interpreters, yet on the other hand we are equally averse to that jejune and frigid theory of exposition which sees nothing beyond the mere letter of the Psalmist.

We have only to remark that the utmost caution will be required in affixing a Messianic interpretation to a Psalm, when such interpretation is not affirmed nor implied by the writers of the New Testament in their citations from the Old. Following bishop Horsley's rule, "that there is not a page of this book of Psalms in which the pious reader will not find his Saviour, if he reads with a view of finding him," we should be led at once into the wildest notions of the spiritualizing interpreters. On this subject, we prefer to stand on firm ground, though our limits be greatly narrowed, rather than float on a sea of conjecture.

We will only say further that Prof. Bush's object is worthy of all encouragement, and we cannot but wish him the most ample success. His ability is undoubted.

2.—*The Writings of George Washington; being his Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and other Papers, official and private. Selected and published from the original manuscripts; with a Life of the Author, notes and illustrations. By Jared Sparks. Vols. IV. and V. Boston: Russell, Odiorne & Metcalf, and Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1834. pp. 560, 558.*

The first volume of this work, which is to contain the memoirs of the Author, is now published.
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moir of general Washington, is not yet published. The second and third volumes, a review of which will be found in the third volume of the American Quarterly Observer, contain the correspondence down to the evacuation of Boston in 1776; the second comprising the period anterior to the revolution; and the third embracing the first records of that great event. The first letter of the fourth volume is dated at New-York, July 15, 1776, and the last in New-Jersey, July 24, 1777. An appendix exhibits various particulars respecting Washington's intercourse with Lord Howe, the capture of general Lee, and the battle of Trenton. The fifth volume commences with a letter to general Schuyler in the July before the battle of Stillwater, and terminates with a letter to governour Trumbull, July 14, 1778. The appendix includes the highly interesting particulars respecting the early career of Lafayette, which have been already published in the newspapers; details of the battles of Brandywine, and Germantown; the storming of forts Montgomery and Clinton; all the important correspondence respecting Conway's cabal so called; the battle of Monmouth, etc. Plans of the important battle-grounds, evidently drawn up from personal inspection, are inserted. Mr. Sparks's extensive researches have also enabled him to add many illustrative notes of great value. The judgment displayed by the editor in the selection and arrangement of the papers is only equalled by his indefatigable investigations. Remarkable impartiality and candour are also exhibited in the opinions which are incidentally expressed respecting various men and things. We hope that a most liberal patronage will be given to these volumes. They will be in the first rank of importance as sources of American history, while they exhibit the transcendent excellencies of Washington's character in fresh and striking points of view.

- 3.—*The Life of Alexander Hamilton. By his Son, John C. Hamilton. Vol. I.* New-York: Halsted & Voorhies. 1834. pp. 422.

A great improvement has been effected in the style of American biography within thirty years. Barton's *Life of Rittenhouse*, some of the *lives in the Memoirs of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence* and other volumes, which might be named, written twenty or thirty years since, display an affected taste and a vicious style. Many words are employed,

which no good writer would for a moment tolerate. The Life of General Hamilton, if not absolutely faultless in this respect, is written with uncommon purity and good taste. The words are English, and are well chosen, and the whole style, in which the volume is brought out, very creditable to the biographer. The first volume only has yet appeared, closing with a notice of the appointment of Hamilton as a delegate to Congress in 1782. It was hastened from the press, in consequence of an intimation that an imperfect and unauthorized memoir of Hamilton was about to appear. If the moral tone of the volume were higher, we should rejoice. On the 10th page, after mentioning Hamilton's early devotional habits, the biographer says, "This religious temperament is strongly contrasted with the bold and energetic character of his ambition, *but they may be traced to the same source.*" We must be permitted altogether to doubt the truth of this assertion. If it has truth involved in it, the language is certainly very unfortunate. That a man's temperament will modify his religious feelings is doubtless true; but that piety and emulation are identical in their origin is very far from being the fact. On p. 163, is the following remark about Samuel Adams: "This spirit of indiscriminate distrust darkened all his counsels, and was combined with a fanaticism, which disregarded experience and undervalued human agency." That Samuel Adams was a *fanatic* will be a startling assertion to most of our readers. The whole course of his life was not more signalized for reliance on Providence, than it was for the most indefatigable labours. He had imbibed errors, doubtless, in regard to the theory of government, and strong prejudices in respect to some distinguished men; but for ardent love of his country, and the most inflexible integrity, very few men if any equalled him, at a time when great and good men were not rare. In the efforts which were made by Mifflin, Conway, and others, to elevate Gates at the expense of Washington's degradation, there is not sufficient evidence to implicate New-England, nor any other portion of the country in mass, as the biographer seems to think. In vindicating the character and eminent services of Schuyler, Mr. Hamilton has not done any thing more than what is just. Gates carried off the laurels which Schuyler had won.

On the general spirit and character of the memoir, we shall waive all remarks till the appearance of the second volume, which we hope will be delayed till the biographer has had full

time to exert his utmost ability. In some respects Alexander Hamilton is the most extraordinary man, who has appeared in this country. His services in establishing our government, are clearly second only to those of Washington.

- 4.—*Medea, a Tragedy of Seneca. Edited by Charles Beck, Prof. of Latin in Harvard University.* Cambridge : James Munroe & Co. 1834. pp. 67.

The principal object of Mr Beck, in preparing the *Medea* of Seneca, has been to introduce younger students to a kind of Latin poetry, of which they generally know but little. Other branches of Latin poetry are well provided for in the college course, while the drama is almost wholly neglected. Of the ten tragedies, which are attributed to Seneca, the *Medea* is the only one which is certainly known to have been his production. The text is that of the edition of J. Gronovius, based upon the manuscript, which he found in the Florentine library. Sixteen pages of notes, and a statement of the different kinds of verse found in the *Medea* are appended.

- 5.—*Introduction to the Study of the Greek Classic Poets. Designed principally for the use of young persons at school and college. By Henry Nelson Coleridge, Esq. late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge Part I. containing General Introduction, and Introduction to Homer.* Philadelphia : Carey & Lea, 1831, pp. 237.

Though this book was republished about three years since, yet the fear that its merits have not been appreciated, induces us at this late day, strongly to recommend it to our readers. If they have the spirit of scholars, they will highly relish its chaste enthusiasm and its discriminating touches. The author penetrates beyond the forms and syntax of the language, and holds communion with the sweet and invisible spirit of Beauty and Love which hovers over the Homeric page. Besides its great merit in possessing the power to awaken kindred enthusiasm in the bosom of the reader, it contains many sensible observations and sound criticisms. We are glad that Mr Coleridge is yet in the full maturity of his powers, and has the intention to prepare Introductions to all the Greek classical writers.

- 6.—*A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect.* By M. Stuart, Prof. of Sacred Lit. Theol. Sem. Andover. Andover: Gould & Newman. 1834. pp. 256.

The first twenty-four pages of this grammar are taken up with the preface and the introduction, in which are given some account of the Greek Dialects; also of the controversy between the Purists and Hebraists, the two parties who long contended respecting the character of the New Testament Greek. This celebrated controversy is now regarded as finally settled. The predominant ingredient of the New Testament idiom is the Attic dialect, while its subordinate constituents are principally the Macedonic dialect, mixed with Hebrew idioms. It is sometimes called the Hebrew Greek, but generally the Hellenistic dialect. The first part of the Grammar, including eighteen pages, is taken up with the subject of Letters and their changes. It is necessarily handled in a brief manner, yet distinctly and satisfactorily. The second part treats of Grammatical Forms and Flexions, and is comprised in ninety-two pages. The reasons for the insertion of the forms and flexions are sufficiently obvious, though they have not generally been retained in the New Testament grammars. Particular attention has been paid by the author, to the explanation of the forms and principles of the Third Declension, and to the nature and formation of the Tenses. The remainder of the volume is occupied with the Syntax. Considerable space is very properly devoted to the Article. Those who will take the trouble to compare the grammar translated from Winer and published a few years since at Andover, with the one now under consideration, will observe striking improvements in the latter. The recent investigations of Winer, as well as those of Passow, Buttmann, Matthiæ, and of the author himself, have accumulated valuable materials, which were not in existence ten years since. We heartily commend the work to all biblical students. It will be a good accompaniment to the New Testament Lexicon of Prof. Robinson now in the press.

- 7.—*Elements of Psychology; included in a Critical Examination of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding.* By Victor Cousin, Professor of Philosophy of the Faculty of Literature at Paris; Peer of France; and Member of the Royal Council of Instruction. Translated from the

French, with an Introduction, Notes, and Additions. By C. S. Henry. Hartford: Cooke & Co. 1834. pp. 355.

This is certainly a very important work, and, we think, cannot be without its influence on the metaphysical opinions of the country, and indeed, of the age, and coming ages. M. Cousin is an Eclectic Philosopher. He believes that no speculative system of unmixed error can be embraced by the human mind; that, therefore, every system which has actually obtained currency, contains more or less of truth, which it is the business of a genuine philosopher, to extricate from the mass of error in which it may be involved, and adopt into his own philosophical creed; and that every system which is not thus Eclectic, is false, so far as it is exclusive, and rejects the truths which lie at the foundation of other systems. In the light of this principle, he examines the doctrines of the Sensual School, as exhibited in the most able and influential work which it has produced. The characteristic of that School is, that it derives all our ideas, ultimately, from sensation. It is wrong, in its exclusive claims; as there are many ideas, which cannot be derived from that source. Such are the ideas of space, time, substance, the infinite, right and wrong, &c. These ideas belong to us, not as sentient, but as rational beings. The exercise of the senses does not give them, nor does it give elements, out of which they are formed by reflection. It is only the occasion, on which the reason forms them for itself, or rather, recognizes them as true. In this, he agrees with Reid, Stewart, Coleridge, and others of the Spiritual School. In order to maintain the doctrine, that all our ideas are derived from sensation, either immediately, or by reflection, it was necessary for Locke to show how the ideas above enumerated may be acquired in that way. In order to do this, it was necessary to describe those ideas incorrectly, so as, in fact, to change their nature, and to substitute for them other ideas, such as sensation can furnish; so that, with him, space is nothing but body; time, nothing but succession; right, nothing but a relation between certain actions, and pleasurable sensations which are to follow them, miscalled rewards. Locke had prepared the way for this error, by an error of method; by inquiring after the origin of our ideas, before ascertaining what those ideas really are.

In exposing these errors of Locke, the author is naturally led to an exhibition of the true method of reasoning on the

topics in question ; showing both what these ideas really are, as they actually exist in the minds of men, and how the human mind actually acquires them. In doing this, he of necessity furnishes us with the principal elements of psychology.

Such are the claims of this work ; and though we are not ready to endorse every part of it, we think them on the whole, well sustained. The translator, too, deserves praise. We have observed no instance, in which the train of argument suggests the query, whether he has correctly understood his author's meaning ; and in very few instances has he failed to express that meaning in clear and vigorous English. His own additions are valuable ; though the abstract of Cousin's system, in the Introduction, will be found somewhat obscure by those to whom his mode of reasoning is wholly new. In a mere abstract, however, it could not be otherwise.

8.—*Biographia Literaria ; or Biographical Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions.* By S. T. Coleridge. Two volumes in one. New-York : Leavitt, Lord & Co. 1834. pp. 351.

We wish to do little more than announce the republication of this book. The only American edition within our knowledge—that of the Eastburns, has long been out of print. The present edition is brought within a small compass, while, at the same time, the type is fair, and the whole mechanical execution good. To such of our readers as are unacquainted with the volume, we say, *study* it, and you will be well recompensed for your pains. If you do not enter into its just connections and spirit, you will still find numerous single thoughts and detached sentences of sterling value. You will pick up more than one golden apple along your path. The criticism on Wordsworth's poetry comes nearer to the ideal of a *review* than any thing within our knowledge. In this critique, the author discovers that acquaintance with the moral and intellectual nature of man, that perception of the laws on which the science of criticism is founded, that strength of judgment and honesty of intention, which, if more generally exhibited, would go far to remove the prejudice which is now felt against periodical Reviews.

- 9.—*Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Christian Frederick Schwartz ; to which is prefixed, a Sketch of the History of Christianity in India. By Hugh Pearson, D. D., M. R. A. S., Dean of Salisbury. In two volumes. London : J. Hatchard & Son. 1834.*

With all our veneration for Schwartz, we have always had a secret suspicion of some defects in his christian and missionary character. We have imagined that he was too much under the influence of *worldly wisdom*, that his remarkable knowledge of the springs of human action, under the garb of great simplicity and meekness, led him too far from the path of the true missionary of Jesus ; in other words, that there was less in his character of the harmlessness of the dove than of the wisdom of the serpent. We had also supposed that his rules for the admission of converts within the pale of Christianity partook somewhat of the maxims of political measures. We never doubted, for a moment, his distinguished excellence in general. Yet on reading the high wrought eulogies of his character, which are to be met with in the histories of missions, we always involuntarily made some allowances. We now gladly find ourselves to have been mistaken. These volumes have removed the prejudice entirely. His intercourse with the Madras government, and with the native princes was altogether honourable and christian. His motives, and his whole interior frame, so far as they are developed by his actions, and his confidential correspondence are in full accordance with his personal appearance and his general reputation. He had doubtless, a great degree of that prudence which dwells with wisdom, and of that good understanding which results from the fear of the Lord, yet there was nothing like chicanery or double-dealing, or want of transparency in his conduct or character. He had a large share of that *heartiness* and unreservedness, which belongs to the German temperament, and which in connection with love to his work, and high spiritual affections, enabled him to tread so closely in the steps of apostles and martyrs. The Life by Dr. Pearson, the biographer of Buchanan, leaves nothing to be desired. It embraces a large amount of new materials, derived from the letters of Schwartz translated from the German, as well as from his English correspondence, and the records of the East India Company.

- 10.—*The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry. By J. G. Herder. Translated from the German by James Marsh. In two volumes. Vol. II.* Burlington: Edward Smith. 1833. pp. 319.

A notice of the first volume of this translation, with some account of the life and character of Herder, may be found in the second volume of the *Quarterly Observer*, p. 179. The American public are now favoured with a translation of the second volume. There is every internal evidence that the work is faithfully done. The logical connection in the train of thoughts is preserved, and the graceful illustrations and light and delicate allusions appear well in their English dress.

We rejoice that the work of Herder is now accessible to the great body of students. It forms a highly important part of the apparatus for the study of the scriptures. Its object is not commentary, theological statement, critical research, or hortatory appeal. It strives to imbue the reader with the spirit of Hebrew song. It transposes him to the margin of the Red sea, to the foot of Sinai, to the hills and vallies of the land of promise, and surrounds him with the glorious national recollections of the Jews. It seeks to make him at home under an eastern sky, and to fill his soul with such longings for the oriental life, as some eastern travellers have felt in their old age. Herder penetrates beneath the philology of the Hebrew language, and catches the living spirit of the poetry. There is frequently great truth and beauty in his thoughts aside from the objects which they were intended to illustrate. At the same time, a strong light is frequently thrown by his remarks, on the manners and customs of the Hebrews, their laws, religion, modes of thinking; and in this way, his book becomes valuable to the commentator and theologian. A sufficient testimony of the worth of it may be derived from the fact that it maintains its standing among scholars, notwithstanding all which has been accomplished in respect to biblical literature since the death of the author in 1803. The attentive reader will discover occasionally errors of doctrine, and remarks of a literary or miscellaneous nature, which require modification (for instance the last remark commencing on p. 14, and the first on p. 30,) still the value of the work is great, and we hope it will be fully appreciated by all lovers of the Bible.

The third part of the work was but just commenced by the author. It was intended to embrace inquiries respecting the

political productions ascribed to Solomon, the individual character and views of the prophets, the changes produced in the conceptions of the Jews by the captivity, the imagery of the apocryphal writings, and a consideration of the "new poetical shoot which sprang up in the last book of the New Testament, at once expanding into a tree, blooming with fresh and unfading flowers."

- 11.—*Vahram's Chronicle of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia, during the time of the Crusades. Translated from the original Armenian; with Notes and Illustrations. By Charles Fried. Neumann.* London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1830. pp. 110.

Vahram was a native of Edessa, a priest, and the secretary of king Leon III. Gibbon simply mentions the *name* of Cilicia, a kingdom which carried on successful wars against the emperours of Constantinople; and which, from the beginning of the crusades, remained the ally and friend of the Franks, and to whom belonged a part of the sea-coast, that continued from the time of Ezekiel the theatre of the commerce of the world. The Venetians and Genoese were so impressed with the importance of Cilicia, that they made several commercial treaties with the Armenian kings. The Armenian original of one of these agreements, together with a translation and notes, has been printed by Saint Martin. The crusaders were astonished to find within the frontiers of the Byzantine empire a powerful prince and ally of whom they had never before heard mention. By the unjust and cruel division of the kingdom of Armenia, the largest and most fertile part fell to the empire of Persia. The Byzantine emperours and the Sassanian princes for a while permitted native kings to hold a precarious sceptre; but they were speedily dismissed, and the Byzantine part of Armenia was governed by a Greek magistrate, and the Persian by a Marsben or Margrave. This state of the country, somewhat similar to that of the Maronites of our times, was on a sudden changed by the conquests of the Arabs; but the Armenians would not accept the Koran, and their condition became worse under the zealous and fanatical followers of the prophet of Mecca than under the descendants of Sapor the Great, while weak and dismayed by civil wars.

Ashod, the Bagratide, an Armenian nobleman of a Jewish

family, who had fled to Armenia after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, at last gained the confidence of his Arabian masters; and in 859 was appointed prince over all Armenia, and in 888, was favoured with a tributary crown. The Bagratides were the faithful friends of the Arabs, and often suffered from the inroads of the Greeks. The Bagratian kingdom in Armenia Proper was at length extinguished, and a new Armenian kingdom arose on the craggy rocks of Mount Taurus, and which gradually extended its boundaries to the sea-coast, including the whole province of Cilicia. Vahram carries his history no further down than the time of the death of his sovereign, Leon III, in 1289; but the Cilicio-Armenian kingdom, which, during the whole time of its existence perhaps never was entirely independent, lasted nearly a hundred years longer. Leon, the sixth of that name and the last Armenian king of Cilicia, was, in 1375, taken prisoner by the Mamalukes of Egypt, and after a long captivity (1382) released by the generous interference of John I, of Castile. The Mamalukes, however, soon lost a part of Armenia Proper, and all Cilicia, being compelled to yield to the superiour strength of the descendants of Osman or Othman. The Armenians again felt, as in former times, all the disasters to which the frontier provinces between two rival empires are usually exposed. The cruel policy of the Persian kings transplanted thousands of Christian families to the distant provinces of Persia, and transformed fertile regions into deserts. The Armenians were obliged, therefore, like the Jews, to disperse themselves over the world, and resort to commerce for the necessaries of life. Armenian merchants are now to be found in India, on the islands of the eastern Archipelago, in Singapore, in Afghanistan, Persia, Egypt, in every part of Asia Minor, Syria, Russia, Poland, Austria, and Italy. The present patriarch of Abyssinia is an Armenian. The valiant descendants of Haig are considered every where as clever and shrewd merchants.

It is about half a century since the modern Armenian provinces began to look to Russia for relief. By the wars of Russia against the Shah and the Sultan, the greater part of the old Parthian kingdom of Armenia has come under the sway of the czars.

Vahram is nearly the latest author who is considered by the Armenian literati to write classically. The classical Armenian language had been preserved from the beginning of Armenian

literature in the fifth century, amidst various political and religious disturbances, for a period of 800 years. During the course of the 13th century the language became corrupted; and in the 14th, authors began to use in their writings the corrupted vernacular idiom. The Armenian literature remained in a very abject condition for about 400 years, till the middle of the 18th century, when Madras, Calcutta, Djulfa, New Nakchivan, Etchmiadzin, Tabreez, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Amsterdam, Smyrna, but principally Venice, bear witness to the literary energy of the far dispersed descendants of Haig. With the dawn of Armenian literature, history has been enriched by the chronicle of Eusebius; more valuable literary treasures may be expected. Very important original histories exist, which have never been printed or translated.

ARTICLE IX.

MISCELLANEOUS AND LITERARY NOTICES.

GREAT BRITAIN.

It is known to our readers that the Commentaries of Calvin on various portions of the Scriptures are now publishing in Germany, under the editorial charge of Tholuck. Three volumes have appeared, embracing the epistles of Paul. The Commentary on the Romans has just been issued in an English translation by Francis Sibson, A. B. of Trinity College, Dublin, in one volume 18mo. of 640 pages. A Life of Calvin with a list of his writings, and a portrait, is prefixed, occupying about 80 pages. We cannot speak of the fidelity of the translation, as we have had no leisure to compare it with the original. The translator is not wanting in enthusiastic admiration of the great reformer. In a note, he thus alludes to the condition of biblical criticism in England: "We trust the time is not distant when every good classical school will pay so much attention to the New Testament, even in some of the higher departments of biblical criticism, as to compel all our colleges to assume a more distinguished stand in one

of the most important branches of literature. What a disgrace that Britain should be so much surpassed by Germany in this truly useful study ! Shall we not be roused by our American descendants ? Professor Stuart's critical remarks on the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews are truly valuable."

Some of the British Reviews speak in high terms of Smith and Dwight's *Tour*, as being the best book of Travels, which has appeared relating to Armenia, and some of the adjoining provinces. Our readers will be glad to learn that Mr. Smith is preparing a new edition, which will doubtless be still more worthy of attention. We intend to embrace an early opportunity to present our views of the condition of the Oriental churches visited by Messrs. Smith and Dwight, the causes of their sad decline, and the means by which they may again be restored to more than their original purity. No portion of the old World is more interesting than Asia Minor. Scarcely any presents a finer field for the investigations of the christian scholar.

We have been very much disappointed in looking over the new *Life of Dr. Watts* by Southey. It is a feeble effort, and will add nothing to the fame of the Laureate. The biographer places Dr. Watts' poetical character somewhat higher than Dr. Johnson did. He considers the charge of Socinianism which has been made against him to be unsupported, but thinks that he finds in a detached sentence or two evidence that the poet cherished the opinion of Origen respecting eternal punishment.

FRANCE.

At a meeting of the Academy of Inscriptions on the 24th of July last, M. Etienne Quatrimère read a dissertation on the site of the ancient Ophir, which he supposed to be in Sofala, in Eastern Africa. He also attempted to prove that Pharaoh Necho doubled the cape of Good Hope.

There were expended in France in 1831, for elementary instruction, (raised by vote of the different departments) £4,800 ; in 1832, £31,030 ; in 1833, £48,800 ; in 1834, £116,780. M. Guizot, the late minister of public Instruction, insisted that Christian Morals should not only form a part of national education, but its ground-work.

An Historical Institute has just been formed in France, divided as follows—1. Natural History. 2. Social and Philosophical Sciences. 3. Languages and Literature of different nations. 4. History of Physical and Mathematical Sciences. 5. Fine Arts. 6. History of France. There are several hundred members, among whom are Carnot, Michaud, Laborde, St. Hilaire, Elie de Beaumont, Broussais, Lacretelle and other distinguished *savans*.

The works of Confucius and Mencius are about to appear in Paris in Chinese and French, by G. Pauthier. Siebold, the traveller in Japan, is publishing a Fauna of the country, assisted by Temminck Schlegel, and Hahn. Two livraisons have appeared.

HOLLAND.

The number of students in the University of Leyden is about 300. The botanical garden covers four acres. The university possesses very valuable Oriental MSS., and the select libraries of the critics Scanling, Vossius, and Erpenius.

The proportion of religious denominations in Holland is about the same as in Amsterdam, which here follows :—

| | | | |
|--------------------|---------|--------------------------|-------|
| Reformed Church, | 100,899 | Small sect of Lutherans, | 9,843 |
| Roman Catholics, | 43,212 | Mennonites, | 1,946 |
| Lutherans, | 22,623 | Episcopalians, | 237 |
| Jews, | 21,498 | Other Sects, | 107 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| Total, | 200,365 | | |

SWEDEN.

The University of Upsala, founded in 1246, has 24 professors ; 14 adjunct professors ; 60,000 volumes in its library ; 1000 MSS. ; a cabinet of coins. The students at the beginning of 1834, were in theology 245 ; medicine 150 ; philosophy 328 ; and 249 not classed ; total 1072. The whole number in 1820, was 830. The number of printing presses in Sweden is but 28—10 in Stockholm, 3 in Gottenburg, 2 in Upsala, 2 in Norrköping, and one each in three other places. There is one press to 97,840 inhabitants, the population being 2,741,000. The original works published in 1833 were 140. The translations from other languages are in this order—German, French, English. The periodicals, which have the largest subscription, circulate

no more than 1500 or 1600 copies. The inhabitants are distributed into the following classes—nobility 10,000; clergy 14,000; burgesses 66,000; peasants or agriculturists 2,600,000; militia and civilians 50,000.

DENMARK.

The royal library at Copenhagen contains about 400,000 volumes, and is one of the largest in the world. It was founded by Frederick II, and the building was completed in 1669. It has five divisions; 1. Northern library, contains every thing relating to Danish literature, and much of that of Sweden and Norway. 2. Many typographical curiosities relating to this literature. 3. Very valuable collections of MSS. many of them oriental. 4. Ten or twelve thousand early printed MSS. and books. 5. More than 81,000 engravings. The University library has more than 100,000 volumes, and many valuable MSS. Its oriental books are of great worth. The Clasen library has 30,000 volumes, and is very rich in physics, mathematics, &c.

The 14 towns in the duchy of Holstein, with a population of 375,000, have 10 weekly papers. The University of Kiel has now 300 students.

The translation of the Old Testament into the Greenland language is going on under the direction of the Danish Bible Society.

GERMANY.

Died on the 31st of August, 1834, the distinguished astronomer, Harding, discoverer of the planet Juno. He was descended from an English family, and was born in 1764 at Lauenenburg. He was tutor to the son of the astronomer Schröter. In 1805, he became professor of astronomy in the University of Göttingen. He made accurate maps of those parts of the heavens, where the planets appear, and thus discovered Juno in 1804. He died of grief on account of the loss of his daughter, an only child of 14 years.

Bopp's Comparative Grammar. In the 1st volume p. 407 of the Biblical Repository, is a notice respecting the Zend-avesta, its antiquity, and authority, and the general merits of the translation by Anquetil du Perron. In the last No. of the third volume, p. 707, is a

translation of Burnouf's Discourse on the Study of the Sanscrit language and literature. In Vol. IV. p. 606, are some further notices of the Zend and Sanscrit languages, in which there is an allusion to Bopp's Grammar, published about a year since. Some further notices in regard to the Grammar are here subjoined. The following is the title, "Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Lithanischen, Gothischen, und Deutschen, von Franz Bopp, 1st Fasciculus, in XXIII. and 288 pp. small quarto. Berlin 1833." "It is my intention," says Prof. Bopp, in his preface, "in the present work, to attempt a complete discussion of the organism of the languages enumerated in the title page, to investigate their physical and mechanical laws, and the origin of those forms which express grammatical relations. The mystery of the roots only (or the reason why particular primary notions were expressed by such and such combination of sounds) we leave untouched; we do not inquire why, for instance, the root *i* signifies *to go*, and not *to stand*; or why *sta* or *stha* means *to stand*, and not *to go*. But excepting this, we shall try to follow language, as it were, in its growth, and in the process of its developement, so conducting our inquiries, that those who are averse to explanations of things considered by them inexplicable, will, perhaps, find less here to offend them than they would expect in a book written with the views just stated." The part published has three divisions; 1st. pp. 1—104, on the system of writing and of sounds. The author first discusses the sounds expressed by the Sanscrit alphabet, then the Zend, then the Gothic. He then reverts to the Sanscrit, in order to point out such phonetic laws observable in the transmutation of its letters, as could not be noticed in the analysis of its alphabet. To the consideration of the alphabets of the other languages here inquired into, no separate section is given, but they are elucidated by occasional reference. The 2d division, pp. 105—132, contains general remarks on the common character of the *roots* in the languages compared. The 3d division, pp. 133—288, is on the declensions, or on the crude stems, and the formation of the numbers and cases of nouns. The following are from the examples given by Prof. B. of the forms assumed by each case in words of various terminations. The case is the Nom. singular. The orthography of the Sanscrit and Zend is slightly altered to suit the English pronunciation.

| Sanscrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | Lithuan. | Gothic. |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>vṛika-s</i> wolf | <i>vēhrkō</i> wolf | <i>λύκος</i> | <i>lupus</i> | <i>wilka-s</i> wolf | <i>vulf-s</i> wolf |
| <i>dāna-m</i> gift | <i>dāte-m</i> given | <i>δῶρον</i> | <i>donum</i> | <i>géra</i> good | <i>daur'</i> door |
| <i>nama'</i> name | <i>nāma'</i> name | <i>ἵκαν</i> | <i>nomen</i> | — | <i>namō</i> name |

Bopp was born in 1791, at Mentz, went to Paris in the autumn of 1812, where he studied the oriental languages, assisted by De Sacy, Von Chezy, and A. W. von Schlegel. He lived five years in Paris, then in London, then in Göttingen. He was subsequently made professor of the Oriental languages in Berlin.

The Rev. Dr. Steinkopff, one of the secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, lately writing from Halle, says, "Dr. Tholuck stated to me, as a remarkable fact, that formerly it was an unusual thing for the students of theology to have in their possession, much more to peruse, the German Scriptures for their edification; but that now nearly all the young men, studying under him for the sacred ministry, had supplied themselves with German Bibles for the above purpose; with nearly a hundred of them he stood in the relation, not merely of a professor of divinity, but of a spiritual counsellor."

A U S T R I A.

The course of study in the universities is divided into two series, the first, called the philosophical course, lasts two years. The second, embracing the subjects of divinity, law, and medicine, occupies four years. In both courses, four hours' lecturing in a day is given. The following is the proportion of professors to the students in each university.

| | | | |
|---------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Vienna | 1 to 68 | Innsbruck | 1 to 32 |
| Lemberg | 1 " 50 | Pavia | 1 " 29 |
| Grätz | 1 " 42 | Olmütz | 1 " 26 |
| Prague | 1 " 39 | Padua | 1 " 22 |

Vienna has the largest number of students—4600—owing to the fact that about one in 19 receives gratuitous aid. The students at Prague are 2300; at Innsbruck 700. There are 230 gymnasia in Austria: 201 for Roman Catholics; 2 for the Greek Church; 15 for Lutherans; 10 Reformed Lutherans; 1 for Unitarians and others. Protestants and Jews may be admitted into the Catholic Seminaries, without being compelled to attend on religious studies.

ITALY.

The following was the condition of the higher Seminaries in Italy in January 1834.

1. *Sardinian States.* Turin has a population of 3,250,000. The university has 5 faculties; theology with 4 professors; law with 5; medicine 6; surgery 5; arts 22. The library amounts to 112,000 printed volumes, and a rich collection of MSS, opened to the public every day. It has a museum of antiquities, another of Egyptian antiquities, a third of natural history, &c. and a botanical garden. Students 1200. Among the professors are Plana of Astronomy, Peyron Orientalist, Boucheron Latin and Greek Eloquence, Giobert Chemistry applied to the Arts. In Turin, there are 27 royal colleges, 54 communal colleges, 222 schools for secondary instruction. The Genoese territories have a population of 500,000. The university of Genoa has 4 faculties—theol. 5 professors; law 6; medicine 10; philosophy and arts 13. The professors best known are Mojon of Chemistry, Badono of Mechanics, Spotorno of Latin, &c. Books 45,000. Among the secondary schools are 10 colleges, 7 law schools, 4 naval, 69 convents. Every little town or village has a communal school. Sardinia, with a population of 510,000, has 2 universities, viz. Cagliari, 5 faculties, 23 professors, 502 students, 15,000 books; and Sassari, with 5 faculties, 17 professors, 230 students, 5000 books. The grammar schools have 6 or 7000 students. Every village is required to have a primary school.

2. *Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.* The universities, mentioned under Austria are Pavia and Padua. The former is distinguished for the excellence of its medical instruction. The library has 50,000 volumes. Among the professors are Lanfranchi, Brugnatelli, Configliacchi, Bordoni, Borgnis, Beretta; Scarpa lately died. The annual expenses are £18,000. The professors have a salary, varying from £120 to £240. The small college Ghislieri has 69 students, and Borromeo 38. The expenses of the students are about 5s. a day. The university of Padua has 1200 students, and 50,000 books. There are 12 lycea in the Kingdom. A complete system of secondary and primary instruction has been introduced. The 9 provinces, with a population of 2,381,000, divided into 2,232 communes, have 2336 boys' schools, 1199 girls' schools, 2669 male and 1215 female teachers, 112,127 male, and 54,640 female scholars. There is besides a large number of children receiving gratuitous and elementary education. Sunday schools are rapidly increasing.

3. *Papal State.* Population 2,700,000. The most distinguished professors of the college, La Sapienza at Rome, are Manni, De Matteis, and Tagliabo of various departments of medicine, Morrichini of Chemistry, Metaxa of Zoology, Villani of Law, and Nibbi of Archae-

ology. The students are 1000. The professors in the university of Bologna are Venturoli and Silvani of Civil Law, Santagata of chemistry, Medici, Ranzani, Bertoloni, etc. Bologna has two scientific journals, "the *Opuscoli Scientifici e Letteraj*" and "*Annali di Storia Naturalee*." The students are 500 or 600; 80,000 books, 4000 MSS. The university of Perugia, founded in 1307, has 200 students and 30,000 volumes. Ferrara has 300 students, and 30,000 volumes. Macerata, Urbino and Camerino have 200 students each; thus making at the 7 universities in the Papal State about 2,600 students. There are several colleges at Rome. No general system of elementary education has been introduced.

4. *The Kingdom of the two Sicilies.* The university of Naples has 1500 students, Palermo 600, Catania 500; 12 royal colleges and 33 secondary schools on the continent, and 21 colleges in Sicily.

5. *Tuscany.* Tuscany, including Elba, has a population of 1,300,000. The university of Siena has 200 medical and 100 legal students. The professors 23, receive a salary of 600 crowns each per annum, besides fees. The university of Pisa has 29 professors, and 800 students. Every city and considerable town has its academy of science and literature. Every commune has a school or schools for elementary instruction.

6. *Parma and Piacenza.* 450,000 population. The university of Parma was suppressed in 1831. A school at Parma has 400 students and 90,000 books. One at Piacenza has 13 professors and 200 students. There are besides, in both governments, 189 schools for boys, and 184 for girls.

7. *Modena and Massa.* Population 350,000. Modena, instead of the university lately suppressed, has 4 schools of Law, 1 of Medicine, and 14 other schools.

8. *Lucca*, 15,000 inhabitants, has a lyceum of 28 professors and 180 students, a college of 60 boarders, 16 Latin schools for boys, and several for girls.

NUBIA.

The Rev. J. R. T. Lieder of the Church Missionary Society, who has travelled extensively in Nubia, says that there is not the least similarity between the languages of the Berbers of North Africa and that of the Berberi in Nubia. Mr. L. thinks that the latter are falsely called Berberi by the Egyptians and Europeans. That name he supposes, has the same origin as the Greek *βάρβαροι*. It is regarded among themselves as a *nickname*. In Korosco, Mr. L. met five of the reputed Berberi, including the son of their Emir, Hadji Achmed, who

dwelt south-east of the third cataract towards Abyssinia. They spoke Arabic tolerably well, and two of them were able to read. They told the missionary that the Berbers are only one tribe of a great free nation, called the Busharin, and their language the Errotani. At his request, they translated the following words, which he gave them in Arabic:

| | <i>Berber.</i> | <i>Nubian.</i> | | <i>Berber.</i> | <i>Nubian.</i> |
|---------|----------------|----------------|--------|----------------|----------------|
| God, | Allajo | As in Arabic | Fire, | Neet | Ika |
| Lord, | Onkama | Norka | Satan, | Hantana | Sheibanka |
| Father, | Babai | Faba | Light, | Onur | As in Arabic |
| Mother, | Entita | Enka | King, | Hada | do. |
| Heaven, | Tobrel | Semmaka | Name, | Usum | Tangska |
| Earth, | Tokat | Aretta | Bread, | Odam | Kabakka |
| Sun, | Toin | Mashakka | Water, | Ojam | Amanka |

The Nubians aver, that their present language was not their original one; that they adopted it from the Christians, who formerly inhabited this country, and so lost their own tongue. Two curious swords were offered Mr. L. On the blade of one was the inscription, "Vivat Carolus V. Roman. Imp.;" on the other was a coat of arms, with the date, 1414.

INDIA.

We find in a late No. of the *Oriental Christian Spectator* a notice of a new Grammar of the Marāthi (Mahratta) language, by the Rev. J. Stevenson of the Scottish Mission at Bombay. It is stated to be much superiour to any preceding grammar of the language. One of the most important parts of it is that which relates to the nouns. Few persons can form an idea of the arbitrary practice regarding them. Many inanimate nouns are masculine and feminine, and many, which are masculine and feminine, according to natural analogy, are made neuter. Such nouns as express unequivocally the same individual object are frequently of different genders. Mr. Stevenson has formed three general divisions on the subject. 1. Those derived from the signification. 2. Those from the signification and termination combined. 3. Those from the termination alone; a division which has been observed in some Sanscrit grammars. Great attention has been bestowed on the verbs. On the whole, the grammar is said to be, in point of usefulness to the student of Marāthi next to the dictionary of Capt. Molesworth.

Origin of the Hindoos. From a late treatise of A. W. von Schlegel, we have translated the following, which is the last chapter, and which sums up the views stated in the preceding.

In admitting that the affiliation of languages justifies the conclusion, (a conclusion which, according to my own conviction, will be admitted, just in proportion to the depth of the examination) that all the families of the earth sprung from the same stock, and that their ancestors at a certain epoch, belonged to one nation, afterwards divided and subdivided by successive emigrations, the question naturally arises, How shall we ascertain what was the primitive seat of this parent nation? There is not the least probability, that the emigrations which have peopled so large a portion of the globe, would have commenced at a southern extremity, and directed themselves constantly to the northwest. Every thing conspires, on the contrary, to show that colonies diverged, in various directions, from a *central* country. On this supposition, the distances, which the emigrants would be obliged to traverse, before they fixed on a definite settlement, would be very great; the change of climate to which they would subject themselves, be very severe; and the greater numbers would emigrate, without doubt, so as to effect an advantageous exchange by rumours of the fertility of the soil, and the mildness of the air. For this central seat, where should we look, if not to the interior of the continent of Asia, in the vicinity, or on the east of the Caspian Sea? No objection arises from the fact that that country is now occupied by a people of a different race. How often has a total change of population happened in particular countries? The fertile mother country, from which so many emigrants had dispersed to so great a distance, would gradually become a desert, precisely for the same reason. Neither is it a valid objection, that a number of deserts intervene in the fertile and delightful portions of Transoxiana. It is probable, that since the commencement of history, the nature of the country has undergone a change, having once been more cultivated and populous. Many travellers have observed the drying up of the waters, which formerly fertilized these tracts. The more ancient testimonies show that Bactria once stood at the height of civilization. According to my hypothesis, the ancestors of the Persians and of the Hindoos, migrated to the south-west and the south-east; the European colonists towards the west and north.

The opinion of Tacitus that the more ancient migrations were from beyond the sea, is both opposed to reason and history. The passage over sea from distant countries, would require a great number of vessels, an abundance of provisions, and, in a word, such various preparations, as would indicate a high perfection in the arts. It is clear that the great historian had his eye only on the maritime colonies of the Greeks and Phenicians. But these colonies, comparatively modern, are by no means to be brought into the account, when the ques-

tion is respecting the primitive population of a great continent. Wide seas oppose an invincible obstacle to the migrations of a people, who coming from the interior are entirely ignorant of navigation. But seas both the smaller and the larger, sprinkled over with islands, could be navigated, and had been by a people, who, acquainted with the sea, had made their first attempt. In like manner, the great rivers had been passed, for a thousand years before the invention of bridges.

Accordingly, I think that the people in their migrations from Asia towards Europe, took two great routes; one division an inland course far to the north of the Black sea; the other, entering the passages to the sea, traversed Asia Minor, along the Aegean to the Hellespont, Thrace, Illyria, and the Adriatic. Beyond a doubt, it was in this way, that Greece and Italy received their colonies. We have good reason to think that multitudes stopped in Asia Minor; others established themselves to the north of Greece, appertaining to the same Pelasgic family. The Greek language came into universal use in the countries over which the conquests of Alexander the Great extended; it thus had the effect to obliterate the native dialects. But certain vestiges of the Phrygian, Lycian, and other languages, the repetition of certain geographical terms, concurring with mythological traditions, and testimonies from Homer, all confirm this conjecture.

The other route served to people the north of Europe. I am inclined to think that the Lettique tribes were among the number of the more ancient inhabitants, and that they left Asia before the Germans, who, at the time of Julius Caesar had established themselves on the Rhine, in then unknown regions. Since the period of history, as well as in earlier times, the steppes of the Don and the Wolga, the immense plains of the Ukraine, and the territories, which border on the Lower Danube, afforded a passage to the wandering hordes, who, from time to time, poured out from the depths of Asia to lay waste the West and the South. Thus came the Cimmerians, Scythians, Huns, Avari, Hungarians or Maggari, and the Mongols. The greater part of these hordes did not belong to the Caucasian race, which will cause us to look for their present country, east of Bactria, in Chinese Tartary. These sudden inundations of barbarians, these devastating conquests, never could end in a permanent settlement. Such are signally distinguished from the emigrations of an agricultural people, who, at once, clear up the soil, and transform the savage desert into a terrestrial paradise.

Hence we do not see that languages in themselves supply the means of defining correctly the genealogical tree of nations, and of determining the degree of relationship to the parent. But the affinities between similar languages, examined in detail, will directly tend to lay open the traditions, the notions, and the useful arts which the colonists carried with them from their native country to their new habitations; and they will serve to reveal new light in the commencement of civilization.

INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

Mr. Abeel, in his recent work on South Eastern Asia, gives the following account of the languages spoken at the Celebes. The most prominent nations are the Bugis and Macassar or Mengasar tribes. They speak different languages, or more properly different dialects of the same. The language of Goa or Macassar is peculiarly soft and easy of acquisition, but not so copious as the Bugis; the latter having embodied in their vocabulary a greater number of foreign words. The literary compositions in both are numerous. They consist principally of historical details, written since the introduction of Mohammedanism, in the early part of the 16th century; traditions of more early times, romances, poetical compositions of love, war, and the chase. They have a paraphrase of the Koran, and several works translated, most probably from the Javanese and Arabic; and particular state records in public events, as they occur.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Rev. W. Williams, an English missionary at these Islands, states that the language will be found sufficiently copious to make a good translation attainable. The vocabulary will contain at least 12,000 words, not made up by a medley of common and proper names, as in Kendal's Vocabulary, but merely of those words, which ought to find a place in a dictionary. The language will be found to possess much beauty. It contains no guttural sounds; and as every syllable terminates with a vowel, it has a softness and harmony of expression which cannot well be surpassed. Luke's gospel, a part of John's, the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians have been translated.

VENEZUELA.

The following very important law was passed by the government of Venezuela, at Caraccas, on the 17th of February, 1834. "The Senate and Assembly of Venezuela, assembled in Congress, considering 1. That our constitution, by its act 218, invites foreigners of whatever country to settle in Venezuela; and 2. That religious liberty is an essential part of civil liberty, which the same constitution insures to the native Venezuelan, and to foreigners resident in our republic; declare in a single act, that liberty of worship is not prohibited in Venezuela." Shortly after, Dr. Coleridge, the English bishop of Barbadoes, consecrated, in the presence of the principal men of Caraccas, a church and burying-ground, for the use of the English residents.

WEST INDIES.

Very recent accounts from the West Indies corroborate the hopes which we ventured to express at the conclusion of the article on the West Indies in a preceding page of this number. The partial disaffection felt to the new system, is rapidly removing. The first of August was observed as a day of humble thanksgiving and of solemn prayer. Several of the governors issued proclamations calling on the people to hallow the day by religious observances. Mr. Thomson, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, writing from Jamaica, says, "we have had scarcely an untoward occurrence. There is a very good general feeling among the planters, respecting the changes in operation." On the 3d, Jamaica witnessed a much more peaceful Sabbath than ever before, Sunday markets no longer existing. Very decisive information of a similar kind has also been received from the Bermudas, St. Kitt's, Tortola, and Antigua. The night of the 31st of July was indeed one long to be remembered. Most interesting religious services were held in many places at midnight, commencing at the moment slavery ceased.

We here subjoin some tabular details respecting these Islands, promised on a previous page.

BRITISH WEST INDIES.

| Possessions. | Sq. miles. | White Pop. | Colour'd. | Revenue. | Exports. | Yearly created Property. | Moveable and Immov. Prop. | Date of Acquis. |
|---------------|------------|------------|-----------|----------|------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| Guiana | 100,000 | 3,500 | 100,000 | £60,000 | £3,000,000 | £3,789,166 | £24,020,000 | 1803 |
| Jamaica | 6,400 | 35,000 | 450,000 | 300,000 | 4,000,000 | 8,581,283 | 44,900,000 | 1655 |
| Trinidad | 2,400 | 3,320 | 39,000 | 35,000 | 250,000 | 1,332,100 | 7,710,000 | 1797 |
| Tobago | 187 | 450 | 14,000 | 10,000 | 160,000 | 500,000 | 1,900,000 | 1763 |
| Grenada | 125 | 800 | 27,000 | 13,000 | 220,000 | 1,000,000 | 4,800,000 | 1783 |
| St. Vincent's | 130 | 1,300 | 25,000 | 15,000 | 330,000 | 1,200,000 | 6,000,000 | 1783 |
| Barbadoes | 150 | 14,000 | 90,000 | 17,000 | 776,000 | 2,000,000 | 15,000,000 | 1625 |
| St. Lucia | 58 | 1,070 | 17,000 | 10,000 | 83,000 | 300,000 | 1,200,000 | 1803 |
| Dominica | 275 | 840 | 20,000 | 7,000 | 120,000 | 350,000 | 1,500,000 | 1783 |
| Montserrat | 47 | 320 | 7,000 | 2,500 | 30,000 | 100,000 | 1,000,000 | 1632 |
| Antigua | 108 | 2,000 | 33,000 | 16,000 | 300,000 | 800,000 | 5,000,000 | 1632 |
| St. Kitt's | 68 | 1,600 | 21,000 | 8,000 | 150,000 | 600,000 | 3,000,000 | 1632 |
| Nevis | 20 | 700 | 10,000 | 3,000 | 80,000 | 180,000 | 1,000,000 | 1628 |
| Anguilla | | 360 | 3,000 | | | 20,000 | 160,000 | 1650 |
| Virgin Isles | | 500 | 7,000 | 1,000 | 10,000 | 60,000 | 500,000 | 1666 |
| Bahamas | 4,400 | 4,150 | 12,000 | 19,000 | 76,500 | 300,000 | 2,000,000 | 1629 |
| Bermudas | 22 | 4,000 | 4,800 | 10,000 | 27,000 | 160,000 | 1,000,000 | 1611 |
| Honduras | 62,750 | 330 | 4,800 | 15,000 | 320,000 | 700,000 | 6,000,000 | 1650 |
| Total | 177,140 | 74,240 | 884,600 | 541,500 | £9,932,500 | 21,972,549 | 126,690,000 | |

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ARTICLE I.

ON THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE SABELLIAN AND ATHANASIAN METHOD OF REPRESENTING THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

By Dr. Frederic Schleiermacher, late Professor in the University of Berlin. Translated, with Notes and Illustrations, by M. Stuart, Prof. Sacred Lit. in the Theol. Sem. Andover.

INTRODUCTION BY THE TRANSLATOR.

[THE individual above named as the author of a comparison between the Sabellian and Athanasian Creeds, was beyond all doubt one of the most distinguished men in the walks of theological and philosophical literature, which Germany has of late years, or even perhaps at any time, presented to the notice of the public. His acquisitions, although exceedingly varied, and extending not only to the science and history of Christian doctrine, but also to the whole round of ancient philosophy, particularly the Platonic, as well as to much of the wide circle of Latin and Greek philology, were, in every department where he extended them, original and profound. He was one of the few men, who always thought and was able to think for himself; and consequently he was never a mere copyist or retailer of other men's opinions. Yet, as a general thing, he does not appear to have given way to the temptations which naturally beset a mind of this cast, and solicit it to indulge in singular and ex-

cessive speculations, at the expense of sober reason and sound judgment; a characteristic which may, with much justice, be predicated of many distinguished writers in Germany, especially of many who have been conversant with philosophy and sacred criticism.

That the cast of Schleiermacher's mind was philosophic and speculative, will be admitted fully by his warmest admirers, and is indeed plain enough. That he undertook, in his leisure hours, to translate and briefly to comment upon Plato's works; and this from pure love of such study as the works of this distinguished philosopher invited him to engage in; of itself evinces a cast of mind in love with tenuous and refined speculation. The masterly version which he produced, in the course of his Platonic studies, has scarcely a parallel among modern translations of the ancient writers; so deeply did he drink in of the spirit of his favourite author, so thoroughly did he penetrate the deepest recesses of his meaning, and such an admirable power did he possess of transferring the original, body and soul, into his own vernacular language—a language which, of all those now spoken in Europe, seems to be the most capable of fully expressing the force of Plato's original diction. How weak, how diluted, how *petit maitre* like, for example, does the prince of Grecian philosophers appear, in the hands and in the vernacular of the French philosopher Cousin! How contemptible even, in those of the English Taylor! which, however, is more the fault of the translator than of the language.

The printed works of Schleiermacher, with the exception of his version of Plato, are not numerous. His principal one is his *Glaubenslehre* or *Christliche Glaube*, i. e. *System of Christian Faith* or *Doctrine*, to which he adverts in the commencement of the following Essay. There, from beginning to end, the intelligent and critical reader will find striking and original thoughts; worthy in general at least of being examined and weighed, if they are not entitled to reception. If however I might venture a single remark upon this book as a whole, I should say, that the author has aimed too much at system and theoretical perfection of orderly and logical analysis and development. That he is consistent with himself; that he carries through what he begins; and that his mind, granting him his premises, never falters as to logical deduction; will be conceded, I think, by all who read and well understand him. That he pursues his own way, independent of every preceding dis-

cussion, and of every authority except what he deems to be reason and Scripture, will be doubted by no impartial reader. That his thoughts are powerful, acute, deep, learned, striking, worthy of much examination and reflection, will be as little doubted by any except hasty and superficial readers. Every where the grasp of a mighty mind, in search of a resting place among the simple and systematic elements of truth, appears upon the very face of his disquisitions. If he has failed, and in some respects it is my full conviction that he has, it seems to be owing, at least in part, to his too great love of perfect philosophical and theoretical system. In attaining to this, he appears occasionally to have left out of sight some of the plain and practical declarations of the Scriptures. This we shall have occasion hereafter to notice, in respect to some of his speculations with regard to the doctrines of the Trinity.

As a whole, his *System of Christian Faith* can hardly be said to be adapted to common use. The speculative parts of it, which every where abound, are beyond the reach of common readers, who can attain only to an imperfect understanding of the views which he means to present. One reason of this is, that he supposes a great deal of *Vorkenntnisse* (preparatory knowledge) in his readers; and this, in respect to a great variety of subjects. Indeed the reading of his *System* in an intelligent way requires so much of this, that it can scarcely be supposed his book will ever become popular, in the usual sense of this word.

When I read a book of this cast, I feel myself spontaneously moved to ask the question: Can this be Christianity in its simple elements—a religion beyond all doubt designed for “every kindred and tongue and people and nation?” I am constrained to answer this question in the negative. A religion designed by Heaven for *all*, must be intelligible to all, so far as it is to profit them. They cannot be profited by what they cannot understand. Does the *System* of Schleiermacher develop such a religion? I cannot think it does. I do not mean to say, that the elements, the great and essential truths, of religion are not contained in his system. On the contrary, I fully believe that they are. But what I mean to say is, that the world at large are shut out from them, by reason of their being removed to a region so elevated and speculative that but few minds can attain to them.

I will not say, that it is of no use to write such books. I am

far from believing this. But thus much we may say, viz. that it is of little *direct* use for the great mass of readers. Still, as philosophy so named has endeavoured, in a thousand ways, to embarrass religious truth, and to represent it as unreasonable and indefensible on the ground of argument and logic, it is of serious moment, at times, to shew that philosophy, in its legitimate and proper use, can never be made to bear witness against Christianity. In this respect such efforts as those of Schleiermacher may find a satisfactory apology.

The influence which some of his expositions and defences of divine truth may have, on those intelligent readers who peruse and understand them, may be *indirectly* of great use even to the multitude. If the teachers of religion are rendered more enlightened by this perusal, and become better instructed as to some highly important points of Christian doctrine, then may those committed to their care and instruction as to things pertaining to religion, reap the benefit, though in an indirect way, of such works as those which Schleiermacher has left behind him. One may say of him: *Ubi bene nemo melius*; and even where we feel compelled to dissent from him, we are almost sure to get the best arguments that can be adduced against the opinions which we espouse; a privilege which all are not willing to accept with any thankfulness, and of which, it may truly be said, only a moderate number are skilled in making a right use.

With regard to Schleiermacher's views as a Trinitarian, I can truly say, that I have met with scarcely any writer, ancient or modern, who appears to have a deeper conviction of, or more hearty belief in, the doctrine of the real Godhead of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. This is the basis, on which the whole superstructure of his Christian system rests. No where can be found a writer more entirely alien from the views and speculations of Arians and Socinians; no where one who appears to contend more with his whole heart and soul for the proper, true, supreme Divinity of his Lord and Saviour. *God manifest in the flesh* seems to be inscribed, in his view, on every great truth of the gospel, and to enter as a necessary ingredient into the composition of its essential nature.

Yet Schleiermacher was not made a Trinitarian by Creeds and Confessions. Neither the Nicene or Athanasian Symbol, nor any succeeding formula of Trinitarian doctrine built on this, appears to have had any influence in the formation of his views.

From the Scriptures, and from arguments flowing, as he believed, out of Scriptural premises, he became, and lived, and died, a hearty and constant believer in the one living and true God, revealed to us as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Not content with receiving the formulas of ancient or of modern times, as the dictates of inspiration in regard to this awful and important subject; and unwilling to occupy his time merely in arranging, illustrating, and defending the *dicta* of Councils, assembled in the heat of controversy to put down one party and set up another; he ventured to tread the same ground that such Councils themselves claimed the right of treating, and to survey it anew with his own eyes, and inquire, whether, in the vehemence of dispute and in the midst of philosophical mists, the former survey had been in all respects made with thorough and exact skill and care, and whether a report of it in all respects intelligible and consistent had been made out.

The result of such a survey on his part—of an examination conducted by a mind so powerful; a mind also deeply imbued with reverence to its Saviour and its God, gifted with the highest degree of acuteness, and enlightened by almost all the radiance which ancient or modern luminaries have shed abroad; by a mind so independent and fearless, yet connected with a demeanor that was remarkably unassuming—such a result the readers of this work will surely be curious to see. And this is what I propose to present them with, on the present occasion.

The author himself states, near the beginning of the following Essay, that it is to be considered as a sequel of what he had before published in § 190 of his *Glaubenslehre*, on the subject of the Trinity. It is necessary, therefore, in order to give the reader a view in any good measure complete of Schleiermacher's sentiments on the subject of the Trinity, that he should first be presented with those views, to which the following principal piece is intended as a sequel, and also as a vindication. This can in no way be done so well, as by translating the original section to which he refers, as the ground-work on which he builds the superstructure exhibited in the comparative view that follows.

After defending in various places, in the most explicit manner and with great ability, the doctrine of the Godhead of the Son and Spirit, and shewing that such a development of the Deity is demanded by our moral wants as sinners, in order that we may obtain peace and sanctification; he concludes his book by the

following remarkable proposition, and still more remarkable illustration and confirmation of it.

§ 190. (*Glaubenslehre*).

“*That the doctrine [of the Trinity] may entirely correspond with that pious feeling of which Christians are conscious and which acknowledges a higher nature, EVEN THAT WHICH IS TRULY AND PROPERLY DIVINE, in Christ and the Holy Spirit, the three Persons of the Godhead MUST BE PLACED ON A PERFECT EQUALITY. This, although every where and at all times demanded, has not been done by any of the [public] formulas of the churches.*”

Illustration and Confirmation.

“(1) It is quite plain, that the declaration which asserts that ‘the three persons of the Godhead are equal in substance, power, and glory,’ is of itself an unsatisfactory and insufficient explanation. In its origin it was designed only to oppose, in a polemic way, those representations in which the super-human in Christ and the Holy Spirit was attributed to some being subordinate to the Godhead; and so far as this opposition to such view goes, it is sufficiently definitive. But after all, nothing more is done by this than to repel the idea of inequality.

“If now, on the other hand, something *positive* is to be taught by any particular declaration, this rule may be safely laid down in respect to such declaration, viz., that in representing the distinction between the three persons, nothing is admissible which will convey the idea of an *inequality* between them. This requisition can never be fulfilled, unless the distinction between the persons is so defined, as not in any way to infringe upon their perfect equality; which is what has not hitherto been accomplished by any of the Symbols in common use.

“Let us examine the fundamental points in the representations of the Athanasian Symbol. The Father and the Son are said to be distinguished by the fact, that the Father is eternally unbegotten, [i. e. has eternal *ἀγεννησία*]; the Son is from all eternity begotten, but never begets.

“Now one may represent *eternal generation* to be as remote as possible from all temporary and organic generation, yet there remains one idea, after all, which never can be removed from this view of the subject; and this is, that the *relation of depen-*

dence is of necessity conveyed by such modes of expression. Now if the Father has from eternity exerted his power to beget the Son; and the Son has never exerted a power to beget any person of the Godhead, (which of itself seems to make a great dissimilarity between the first and second persons of the Godhead); and moreover, if there is no relation of dependence between the Son and another person of the Godhead, which can serve as an equivalent for the relation of dependence that exists between the Father and Son; then does it seem plainly to follow, that the power of the Father is greater than that of the Son, and the glory which the Father has in respect to the Son, must be greater than the glory which the Son has in respect to the Father.

“The same must be true, also, in respect to the Spirit; and this, whether we assume (with the Greek church), that he proceeds from the Father only, or (with the Latin one) that he proceeds both from the Father and the Son. In the last case, the Son is supposed to have only *one* incapacity, compared with the Father, [viz. that of *not begetting*]; in the former [i. e. where the Spirit is said to proceed from the Father only], he has a double incapacity, [viz. that of not begetting, and that of not causing the procession of the Spirit], in case nothing proceeds from him and he begets nothing. At all events, the Spirit must be supposed to have this two-fold incapacity, [for he neither begets nor causes procession]; and he is moreover in a relation of dependence, for the proceeding from, or the being breathed forth, necessarily implies a relation of dependence, as well as the being begotten. It is moreover a dependence different from that which belongs to the first and second persons of the Godhead; although no one indeed can tell what it is in itself, or *how* it differs from the being begotten.

“On the ground of the Latin church, the Spirit is dependent on the Father and the Son; and in this case the Son has one capacity in common with the Father, [viz. that of causing procession of the Spirit]; and in this respect he has a pre-eminence over the Holy Ghost. On the ground of the Greek church, the Spirit depends only on the Father, and is then in this respect like to the Son, inasmuch as the one is begotten by the Father, and the other proceeds from him.

“On each and every ground of this kind, the Father has pre-eminence over the other two persons; and the only question disputable is, whether the second and third persons are altogeth-

er alike and equal in their common subordination to the Father, or whether there is subordination also between the second and the third.

“The canon then which requires such a representation of the persons in the Trinity, *as will not make them in any respect unequal*, is not answered by such modes of representation as these.

(2) “The same proposition, [viz. that the common modes of representation have hitherto been imperfect], may be made out in another way, by a consideration of the usual manner in which the subject of the Trinity has been treated. When proof has been required in particular, with respect either to the attributes or the active powers of any particular person of the Trinity, the matter is almost exclusively managed in the following way ; viz., nearly every one of the strictly dogmatic theologians produces his proofs respecting the Son and the Spirit ; but in respect to the Father, the whole matter is taken for granted, and the production of proof is deemed superfluous. If now the idea of a *perfect equality* among the persons of the Godhead lay at the basis of their scheme of doctrine, and a dependence of the Son upon the Father were not regarded as really implied by the very nature of their respective designations ; then the proof respecting the first person would be felt to be as necessary as that respecting the other persons ; and it would no more be *assumed* in the one case, than in the other. Nay, one might as well begin with the second or third person, in the argument, as with the first, and say : Because this or this is clear and certain respecting the second or third person, therefore it must be true of the first, inasmuch as they stand on the relative footing of perfect equality.

“Such a course, however, no dogmatic theologian takes ; and by this uniformity of procedure, as to the method of treating this subject, it becomes perfectly plain that a *preference* is tacitly conceded to the first person.

“But further ; it is usual to treat of the being and attributes of God in and by themselves, before the *Trinity* is taken into consideration ; and having so done, writers appeal to what they have said of God simply considered, as self-evidently belonging to the Father, while at the same time they enter into a course of argument in order to prove that the same being and attributes belong to the Son and Spirit. Thus they tacitly and of course admit, that all which belongs to the Godhead simply considered,

belongs of course to the Father; and in so treating the matter they shew, that (as they consider the subject) the Father does himself constitute the Unity or *Μονάς* of the Godhead, and the expressions *Μονάς* or *Μοναρχία* and Father, are altogether equivalent.

“This method of representation, though not in the way of intention yet in reality, falls back upon and altogether accords with Origen’s avowal, that the Father only is really and simply God; while the Son and Spirit are God merely because they participate in the divine Being.* I am aware that this mode of representation was spurned at by the orthodox party in general of theologians in after times. Yet after all, the very same sentiment did secretly insinuate itself into all their modes of representation, and lies at the very basis of them.

“To the like result should we come, if we should now make comparison of, and should subject to thorough criticism, the philosophical modes of representing the Trinity in ancient and in later times; or if we should attentively examine the distinction made between *God concealed and God revealed*, a distinction often attempted, but not always in the same way. But this could be accomplished only by a full and detailed illustration of the whole history and state of the doctrine under consideration; which present circumstances do not permit me to give.”

Additional Considerations.

“If the remarks already made are well founded, then does it follow, that the true method of representing the doctrine of the Trinity has not yet been hit upon or achieved in the common Symbols. It still remains, according to the tenor of these Symbols and the books of theology, in a state of oscillation between subordination and equality on the one hand, and on the other between Tritheism and such a Unitarian view as is inconsistent with the appropriate honours due to the Redeemer, or with confident trust in the eternal efficacy of his redemption.

“It may appear strange indeed, while so many other doc-

* *Αὐτόθεος ὁ θεός ἐστι . . . πᾶν δὲ τὸ παρὰ τὸ αὐτόθεος μετοχῇ τῆς ἐκείνου θεότητος θεοποιούμενον*, κ. τ. λ. [God (the Father) is very God; but every thing else besides this very God is made divine by becoming partaker of his Divinity]. Comm. in Johan. IV. p. 50. ed. Ruell. Here the connection sets it beyond doubt, that by *αὐτόθεος* is meant the Father. Comp. Princip. I. p. 62, ed. Ruell.

trines of religion which came later under discussion than the doctrine of the Trinity should have been fully and satisfactorily developed and defined, that the doctrine of the Trinity, which was one of the very earliest that was brought into discussion, should still remain invested with an imperfect and unsatisfactory costume. In the mean time it should be remarked, that in the consideration and representation of this doctrine, the wants of our moral nature have not been duly regarded ; nor have they been made a basis to build upon, in respect to this doctrine, as they for the most part were in respect to other Christian doctrines in general ; which was greatly to their advantage. The importance of the doctrine in itself, and also as compared with other doctrines, seems to have contributed to prevent a different view of it from being taken.

“ Here moreover was abundant room for polemic zeal and party spirit, in respect to the *externals* of doctrine, to put forth their full exercise ; and how easy it is to fall into mistakes in such circumstances, every one must know. In such a state of things, moreover, every new oscillation would create a new excitement, which could not be very likely to lead to any happy results.

“ It does not follow from all this, however, that no new effort to make a more consistent and unexceptionable representation of the doctrine of the Trinity, may not now be attended with better success. Christianity has become fully established, and all temptation to polytheism among us is removed ; and thus a multitude of excitements to vehement polemics, which operated on the Christians of ancient times, have now lost their power. We also now more fully admit than the ancients did, the necessity of employing *tropical* expressions in regard to the Godhead, and we better understand their true nature.

“ If now I may give some hints how our future efforts ought to be conducted, I should say, that we must go back in our inquiries to ancient times, when the ground-work of our *symbolic* expressions respecting the Trinity was commenced, and which still remains for substance unaltered, and we must endeavour to find, in the history of these early efforts, the misconceptions which led astray, or occasioned a failure as to a more complete representation of the doctrine of the Trinity.

“ The first supposition to be examined would be, whether, in order to escape the so-called Sabellian heresy, *too much* had not been done by the opposing party ; inasmuch as (for so the Ni-

cene Creed represents the matter) in order to establish the union of the divine nature with the human, a twofold nature was assumed in the Godhead itself. And although such views as those of the Nicene Fathers, were professedly in strong opposition to Arius and to all those who deny or degrade the divine nature that is in Christ and in the Spirit, yet there is room still to inquire, whether the modes of representation employed do not exhibit something which at least is of a doubtful nature, yea something which must be necessarily and substantially altered, if we would preserve the true doctrine of the Trinity.

“Such an inquiry would probably result in the conviction, that we must not in any way represent the Most High as a *mutable* being; nor the exertion of his active powers (on which his union with the human nature depends), in any other way than as having respect to what is done in time; for *causality* in the Godhead may indeed be conceived of as eternal, so far as decree or design is concerned; but so far as the actual exertion of this power is concerned, we must always consider it as taking place in time.

“The second preparatory step would be this. If it should appear to be impossible to represent the relations of Father and Son as existing in the divine nature itself, without thereby introducing the idea of dependence and inequality, then should we inquire, whether it is correct to name the *divine* nature, as it is in itself in Christ, *Son of God*; inasmuch as the Scripture plainly calls the *whole person* of Christ only by this appellation, and makes use of *Logos* or *Word* to designate the divine nature in itself considered. And in cases where no specific appellation is employed, it describes the union of the two natures only as *the indwelling of the fullness of the Godhead*.

“Should the expression *Son* be used only in this scriptural way, then the signification of *dependence* necessarily connected with it would not designate the internal relation in the Godhead itself, but only the relation of the same to its union with the human nature.

“In respect to the Holy Ghost, moreover, it must in like manner be investigated, whether there is any good ground for admitting any other relation of him to the Son, than that the Son, i. e. the whole Christ, sends him.

“It must also be investigated, in order to avoid the idea of dependence, how, when the Son is so designated, the Father is also admitted as a member of the Trinity.

“Only a full and protracted critical investigation of these points can afford the requisite light respecting them. This, however, belongs not to the present disquisition; and I have already proceeded as far as propriety will admit.”

The deeply interesting investigations thus proposed, Dr. S. pursues in the Essay which is presented below. It is impossible that the intelligent and serious reader, after such an exhibition of critical power and analysis as the above remarks exhibit, should not feel a lively interest in pursuing the inquiries which are here proposed. To pursue them under the guidance of such a highly intelligent and learned leader, is indeed a rare privilege—one which has not often occurred in any country or at any time. Dr. S. himself states, near the commencement of his Essay, that while Arianism in all its details has been investigated and exhibited to the religious public, a comparison between the Athanasian views of the Trinity and those which have usually been denominated Sabellian, has not, to his knowledge, hitherto been fully and fairly made. Such a comparison he has undertaken; and whatever may be the opinion of the reader as to the results, or as to the correctness of the opinions of Sabellius or of Dr. S. himself, he will not fail at least to perceive, that much light is thrown, by the mighty power of acute and impartial criticism, on what was before dark and very imperfectly known, or at least very imperfectly represented. The reader, I take occasion expressly to say, is not obliged to follow Dr. S. or Sabellius in their views; but he will feel himself, as I think, obliged to say, that Sabellianism had not before been fully and fairly represented to the Christian public. What has been called Sabellianism hitherto, has been little more than the doctrine of the *Patripassians*, viz. the assumption that the Father himself is the same person that was united to Christ and who is developed in the operations of the Holy Spirit; and therefore that the distinction in the Godhead is nothing more than merely a *name*, without any corresponding reality. Such, it would appear, was after all *not* the opinion of Sabellius; but on the contrary, that he made a more definite, intelligible, and strenuous distinction between Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, than even his opponents; or at least than that

part of them who did not go over into a species of occult Tritheism.

At all events, Schleiermacher himself is a strenuous and uncompromising advocate for the distinction, and full equality in all essential respects, of Father, Son, and Spirit; while the Unity or *Monas* of the Godhead is no where and in no measure infringed by him. Of his view of the Trinity we may at least say, that it is *intelligible*. But who will venture to say, that any of the definitions heretofore given of personality in the Godhead in itself considered, I mean such definitions as have their basis in the Nicene or Athanasian creed, are intelligible and satisfactory to the mind? At least I can truly say that I have not been able to find them, if they do in fact exist. Nor, so far as I know, has any one been able by any commentary on them to render them clear and satisfactory.

In saying all this, however, I must not by any means be understood as subscribing to all of Dr. S.'s views. I shall take occasion at the close of his Essay, to present some of the difficulties that force themselves upon my mind, in respect to his opinions concerning the Trinity. I say only, at present, that his views are, in most respects, palpable and intelligible. I can go with him, in most cases, as far as he goes; but I do not find an ultimate *resting-place* where he does. I feel obliged, by Scripture and the nature of the case, to go further, and to approximate somewhat nearer to that which I suppose to have been the real opinion of the Nicene Fathers and the advocates of the Athanasian Creed; although I cannot possibly subscribe to all the *formulas of expression* which they have employed, nor probably to *all* the views which they really entertained. If I understand their views, they do, in an occult manner indeed, but yet really and effectually, interfere with the true equality in substance, power, and glory, of the three persons or distinctions in the Godhead. This seems to be taking away with the left hand, what we have given with the right. If I say in words, that Christ and the Spirit are God, and very God; and say this ever so strongly and ever so often; and yet assign to them attributes or a condition which after all makes them *dependent* and represents them as *derived* and *originated*; then I am in fact no real believer in the doctrine of *true equality* among the persons of the Godhead; or else I use expressions out of their lawful and accustomed sense, and lose myself amid

the sound of *words*, while *things* are not examined and defined with scrupulous care and accuracy.

It is not my present object to examine in full detail and in an ample manner, the diction and sentiments of the Nicene or Athanasian Creeds. But something should be said respecting the nature and import of this Symbol, in order to prepare the reader fully to appreciate the comparison of Dr. S. which is to follow.

Athanasius was himself a member of the Nicene Council, being then a deacon in the church of Alexandria in Egypt. This Council was assembled at Nice in A. D. 325, by order of the emperor Constantine, who had sought in vain to heal by other means the divisions in the church occasioned by the Arian disputes. Two hundred and fifty bishops are said by Eusebius to have been present; Socrates states them at 318; of whom the Arian party constituted but a small number. Athanasius and Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, appear to have been the two principal speakers in behalf of the orthodox party, and to have been the agents on whom most of the doings of the Council depended.

The subsequent life of Athanasius was almost entirely devoted to a defence of the principles avowed by the Council of Nice; in which avowal he had himself been a leading if not the principal agent.

The Nicene Creed, so far as pertains to our present design, runs thus: "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, *γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί*, by whom all things were made in heaven and earth. . . . And in the Holy Spirit. *Καὶ τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ὅτι ἦν ποτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστόν, ἢ τρεπτόν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει, κ. τ. λ.*; i. e. and those who say that there was [a time] when he [Christ] was not, that before he was born he was not, and that he came into existence from nothing [was made from nothing], or affirm that he is of a different substance or essence [different from that of the Father], or that the Son of God was created, or is mutable, or susceptible of change; them the whole church anathematizes, etc."

Such is the famous Creed of the Nicene Council. The creed

or formula of faith, long supposed to have been drawn up by Athanasius, and sometimes specifically called the *Athanasian Creed*, is now generally allowed not to have been his, but to have been deduced from his works. Dr. Waterland in his *Critical History* of it, ascribes it to Hilary, bishop of Arles. It is not to this, then, but to the *principles* of the *Nicene Creed*, as avowed and defended by Athanasius in a peculiarly zealous and earnest manner, that Schleiermacher is to be considered as referring, in the title of the Essay which is given at the head of this article. The views set forth in the *Nicene Creed*, I suppose to be more usually styled *Athanasian*, because Athanasius was the great champion, if not the peculiar author of them. Be this as it may in respect to Dr. S., it makes no difference of any consequence in the present instance, inasmuch as the views called in question are the same in both cases.

By reverting to the *Nicene Creed*, as exhibited above, the careful reader will perceive, that the doctrine of the Trinity is not developed in such a manner as to satisfy the demands of the rule which Schleiermacher lays down as required by the pious feelings of Christians, or the demands made by strict principles respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, such as are now more generally held.

The Westminster Confession of Faith declares the persons of the Godhead to be "*the same in substance, and equal in power and glory.*" I understand by this, a NUMERICAL UNITY of substance to be asserted; while in respect to persons or distinctions in the Godhead, an *equality of power and glory* is assigned to each.

So Turretin also. He puts the question: *An non sit unus numero Deus, quoad essentiam?* To which he answers: *Quod . . . tuemur.* I. p. 199. So again, p. 282, *Unica numero essentia*; and elsewhere often. And thus, as it doubtless will be conceded, the greater part of modern intelligent and orthodox divines have held and do still hold.

Short of this, the *Μονάς* or divine Unity on the one side, and the *Οικονομία* or divine *Πρόσωπα* as revealed in the Gospel on the other, must be infringed upon. Not that *design* of infringing on the Unity or the Trinity, is to be charged on all the representations that have been made, which seem to present a view that differs from this. To affirm this, would be to affirm more than can be proved, or than can be rationally supposed to be true. But still, whatever may have been the *design* of

those who have made representations that seem to come short of preserving the Unity, or which infringe upon the true idea of equality in the Trinity, the consistency of the representations themselves with the great and fundamental principles of Unity and Trinity, may, without any presumption, be submitted to a close and candid examination.

In order to prevent all misunderstanding of my views and feelings, I would here explicitly state, that I fully admit and believe, that the Nicene Fathers in general, and the great body of intelligent theologians in ancient times, who, subsequent to the Council of Nice advocated the Symbol which was published by them, intended truly and *bonâ fide* to recognize the doctrine of the real Godhead of Christ. Their views of what constituted, or at least what might constitute, real and proper Godhead, were doubtless affected, as it was natural they should be, by the philosophy of the day; and they were unquestionably different in some respects from those which pervade the more intelligent part of Christian theologians at the present time. Many of the Nicene Fathers and of their followers had been nurtured, in early youth, in the bosom of heathenism; and of course in the doctrines of a polytheism which admits a community of gods who are *ὁμοφυσῆς*, i. e. of the same nature generically considered. In other words, a divine nature, in the view of the heathen, was common to all the *Dii majores*; although these gods were admitted to be individually diverse. In addition to this, the *emanation-philosophy* had long and widely pervaded the East; where in fact it still remains, and spreads over all the eastern parts of Asia. According to this, *θεοὶ δεύτεροι* were not only admissible, but they were even regarded as the creators and governors of the world. Then as to the West, the New Platonics had spread far and wide their tenets, from the famous schools which existed at Alexandria, the central point of learning at this period both among heathen and Christians. This *eclectic* philosophy admitted the Logos of their system to a place secondary only to that of the original *τὸ ὄντως Ὄν*. It gave to this Logos a hypostatic or personal and separate existence, and exalted him to the rank of creator and governor of the world. On all sides, then, the possibility that various beings existed, which were truly divine although of secondary rank, was admitted. In this respect, the most celebrated philosophy of the West harmonized with that of the East.

It was impossible but that circumstances like these should

diminish the repugnance of the Nicene Fathers, to the admission of a being to a truly divine rank or order, who was considered by them as a substantial emanation from God, or substantial communication of God, and was therefore a partaker of his substance. Both of these points in fact stand out, in the Nicene Confession, as things most prominent. Why should those Fathers hesitate to admit Christ to a rank truly divine, inasmuch as in their view he was *ὁμοούσιος* with the Father and sprung immediately from him? They did not hesitate; and with the views which most of them cherished, they could not hesitate at their time, when notions respecting the Godhead prevailed, like those which Lactantius for example defends; notions moreover which did not expose them to be called in question as to their belief in the true divinity of Christ, provided only they represented him as *ὁμοούσιος* with the Father and as begotten by him. How could we rationally expect them to stop and ask, as we are now prone to do: 'Are *self-existence* and *independence* essentially requisite to true divinity?' One can scarcely meet with a passage among all the writers of that day, which implies that they felt compelled to urge this question as all important in respect to Christ and the Holy Spirit. Enough, in their view, that the Father possessed the attributes in question. The Son and Spirit were divine, because they were derived immediately from him, and partook of his substance.

I cannot think it to be a question, whether candour requires us to admit that they did worship, and did mean to worship, the second and third persons of the Trinity as *really divine*. Neither Unitarianism (now so called), nor Arianism, were regarded by them as compatible with true Christianity. Theodotus and Paul of Samosata on the one side, and Arius and his friends on the other, were both opposed and rejected.

But while we cheerfully and fully admit all this, it does not follow that the Nicene *exposition* of the great doctrine of the Trinity is not in itself liable to some grave and appalling objections. Dr. Schleiermacher has presented, as we have seen above, some objections apparently unanswerable, which must ever lie against making the second and third persons of the Godhead (as divine) *DEPENDENT* on the first. In whatever shape we present the idea of *derivation*; whether we call it by the name of *generation*, *procession*, *emanation*, or by any other like appellation; still the idea remains of *dependence*.

A *derived* God, if words are allowed to have their appropriate meaning, cannot be a self-existent God; a *dependent* God cannot be an independent one. We may assert what we please, respecting the indescribable, unspeakable, wonderful manner of generation or procession; we may disclaim all similitudes among created things ever so much or so strongly; yet all this goes only to the *manner* and not to the *matter* of the thing. The latter still remains. The idea of *dependence* and *derivation* is inseparably and by absolute necessity connected with the idea of generation and procession.

Accordingly we find that all the fathers before, at, and after the council of Nice, who harmonize with the sentiments there avowed, do with one consent, declare the Father only to be *αὐτόθεος* or *self-existent* God. So says Bishop Bull: "Pater solus naturam illam divinam a se habet, sive a nullo alio; Filius, autem, a Patre; proinde Pater divinitatis quae in Filio est, *fons, origo, et principium* est;" Defensio Fid. Nic. p. 251. This position he fortifies with abundant quotations from the ancient Fathers. The Greek ones speak of the Father as *αἴτιον τοῦ εἶναι*, i. e. *the cause of the being* of the Son; they call him *αἴτιος* and *αἴτια τοῦ υἱοῦ*; the ancient Latin theologians name the Father *auctor, radix, fons, caput*, in respect to the Son. The Greek Fathers again ascribe to him *ὑπεροχήν*; they speak of him as *μείζων*; but of the Son, as *δευτερος θεός*. The Father they style *ἀναρχής*, i. e. *without beginning*, and they speak of the Son as springing from him. No one versed at all in that patristic lore which has respect to the Logos, can fail to acknowledge, that Bishop Bull in this respect has not misrepresented the ancient advocates of the Nicene Symbol.

It lies, moreover, on the very face of the Nicene Creed, that it acknowledges the Father only as the *Μονάς* of the Godhead. "We believe in *ONE* God, *the Father almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible*; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, etc." Jesus Christ as here presented to us, is not the *one God*, but the *one Lord* who was begotten of the substance of the one God or the Father, etc.

The Father, then, as presented in this Creed, is not merely a distinct person, i. e. not merely one of the three persons, and on an equality with the other two; but he is the original, independent, self-existent *Μονάς* or Unity, who constitutes the *Fons*

et *Principium* (as the Latin Fathers express it) of all true Godhead.

The ancient advocates of the Nicene Symbol were accustomed familiarly and usually to style the Father *αὐτόθεος*, i. e. *self-existent God*; and although this appellation was not introduced into the Nicene Creed, yet the language respecting the Son abundantly proves, that the members of the Nicene Council regarded *αὐτόθειον* and *ἀγεννησία* as belonging *exclusively* to the Father; which, indeed, is what their advocates often and every where assert. The Son, according to them, is in his *divine* nature (for this is what they mean) *γεννηθείς*. . . *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς*, he is *θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸς ἀληθινὸς ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθεὶς οὐ ποιηθείς, ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί*. This indeed puts it past all fair question, that the Nicene Fathers meant not by any explanations which they gave, to deny the true and real divinity of the Son. But it also makes it equally plain, that they did not regard *derivation*, (which is so assumed that it lies upon the face of the whole representation), as interfering with his real divinity. Such were their views of philosophy and the nature of things, that *derived* divinity presented nothing incongruous or impossible to their apprehension.

But how shall we of the present day, educated out of the circle of Emanation-philosophy and Eclecticism, and taught from the cradle to believe, and led by reflection in riper years to maintain, that *self-existence* and *independence* are essential to a nature truly divine—how shall we, how can we, force ourselves to believe, that a *derived* God can be the only living and true God? All the favourite images of Tertullian, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, or Gregory of Nysa, will not help to quiet our minds and settle them down in this view. They tell us indeed, often and seriously, of the radiance of the sun which flows always from it, is coeval with it, and must always co-exist with it; while the sun himself is still unchanged and undiminished by this radiance. They bid us go to the fountain that sends forth a living stream, and has ever done so, and always will, and yet it is undivided and undiminished by the stream. They call on us to observe how one torch kindles another, and yet the light of the first remains unimpaired and undivided. They tell us that the tree is not diminished by the fruit it bears; and finally they remind us that a son is *ὁμοούσιος* with his father, even according to human and imperfect generation, having in all respects the same

nature with his father. And having passed before our eyes this splendid and striking phantasmagoria of images, they ask: 'What have you now to object to the derivation, yet perfect equality of the Son with the Father?'

For one I can say, that I am dazzled, but not satisfied, with this splendid exhibition. I have difficulties concerning it—questions to ask, for which I should be glad to obtain some satisfactory answer. Does not radiance *depend*, then, on the sun? Does not the stream depend on the fountain? Or the light of the second torch, on the light of the first? The fruit, on the tree? The human son, on the human father? To answer these questions, let us suppose the body of the sun to be annihilated; the fountain to be dried up; the first torch extinguished when the second comes to be applied to it; the tree withered; and the human father extinct before the production of the son; will any of these *effects* or *productions* continue or come into being, independently of their cause, i. e. their *fons* or *principium*? Plainly not. Then are all these effects, or productions, or derivations, *dependent*; they must be and are originated by a cause *ab extra*; they are *not* self-existent.

How can *created* objects, perishable, mutable, bound together by uniform and unceasing concatenations of causes and effects—afford any just image of the uncreated, invisible, self-existent, independent, and everlasting God? The imagination that they can, is an illusion. It may dazzle, or in some cases even charm—but *satisfy* the mind of a man, who demands reason and argument rather than splendid imagery or eloquent declamation, it cannot. *A God in verity and reality*—can not now be regarded as a derived and a dependent being.

But this is not all which may be said, in regard to the imperfect mode in which the doctrine of the Trinity is stated in the Nicene Creed. To my mind nothing can be plainer, than that the ancient advocates of that Creed differed, as to one important point, pretty widely from most of the distinguished orthodox theologians of modern and recent times, in their method of viewing and stating the doctrine of generation, derivation, or personality, in respect to the Son and Holy Spirit. The importance of this subject, (which however seems but seldom to have attracted very serious notice in modern times, and still more rarely to have been fully and explicitly discussed), reasonably demands that a few explanations and remarks should be made in relation to it. I will speak as briefly as the

highly difficult and important nature of the subject will permit.

1. The great body of modern theologians admit the *numerical unity* of the divine essence or substance. They deny that there are three *οὐσίαι* or substances in the Godhead; they admit only that there are three *ὑποστάσεις* or persons. They deny that there are three *οὐσίαι*, because the admission of this, as they concede, would inevitably lead at least to real *theoretical* Tritheism.

2. The great body of the more acute and discerning theologians admit that the *substance* or *essence* of the second and third persons of the Trinity is not derived from the Father, but is self-existent, inasmuch as it is numerically one with his substance. The older divines of modern times take much pains to distinguish between *essence* or *substance* and *subsistence*. Essence or substance (*οὐσία, φύσις, essentia, substantia, natura*, and sometimes *ὑπόστασις*) are two different names of the same thing, given in consequence of apprehending it in a somewhat different light or point of view. Essence, (if we may trust that great master of definitions—that truly original thinker and powerful reasoner, as well as distinguished Christian, F. Turretin), is the *quidditas rei*, i. e. that which constitutes the very nature of a thing and is indispensable in order to make it such a thing as it is. Substance means, as theologically employed, *that which exists in and by itself*. In reference to the Divinity, both terms would mean the same thing which we mean by *essence* or *substance*, in the language of philosophy or even of common parlance at the present day. Quæst. 23. § 3 seq. Tom I.

Subsistence (*ὑπόστασις, ὑπαρξις, ὑφιστάμενον, τρόπος ὑπαρξεως, subsistentia, suppositum*) Turretin defines by *modus existendi proprius substantiis*. Subsistence moreover, as he says, is divided into two kinds; “*alia quâ constituitur substantia in esse substantiæ, alia quâ constituitur substantia in esse suppositi* ;” which I must leave the reader to explain. From the whole of what he says, however, on the words *subsistence* and *hypostasis*, it is plain that he refers the sense of these to designating the *modus* of existence, in distinction from existence itself, i. e. substance or essence in itself considered. And in much the same way do most of the theologians of the metaphysical school define *substance* and *subsistence* in respect to the Godhead.

We come now to our main object. *Personality*, (*ὑπόστασις*

persona, τρόπος ὑπάρξεως) is the point to which, according to most modern representations of the doctrine of the Trinity, we are to direct our attention, when we think of the generation of the Son, or of the procession or ἐκπεμποις of the Holy Spirit. Not the *essence* of the second and third persons of the Trinity is to be considered as being derived from the Father; but their *modus existendi*, their *hypostasis*, their *personality*, is what we must consider to be derived. To the Father belong *paternitas* and ἀγεννησία; to the Son, *filiatio* or *generatio passiva*; and to the Spirit, *processio* or ἐκπεμποις.

3. Some difficulties that attend this view will be noticed in the sequel. My object under the present head, is more fully to state, how widely this mode of representation differs from that which the ancient advocates of the Nicene Council usually employed. For this purpose I might appeal to the Nicene Creed itself as stated above, where ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς is evidently designed to convey the idea, that the *substance* (not merely the *modus existendi* or *subsistence*) of the Father is communicated to and produces the Son, in his divine nature. I will however select a passage from one of the most orthodox, able, consistent, and eloquent, of all the ancient fathers who have written upon the doctrine of the Trinity, in order to illustrate the ancient views. It is found in Hilary de Trinitate, Lib. II. § 6 seq.

“It is the Father, from whom every thing that exists came into being. He, in Christ and by Christ, was the origin of all things. His it is to exist in and of himself; not deriving from any other source that which he is, but obtaining it in and of himself. Infinite, because he is contained in nothing else, and all things are in him; not confined to any space, because he can have no limits; eternally existing before all time, for time is derived from him . . . This is the truth of the mystery of God, this is the name of the incomprehensible nature in the Father. God is invisible, indescribable, infinite; speech is reduced to silence in speaking of him; reason becomes confounded in searching him out; the understanding is straitened in endeavouring to comprehend him. He has, as we have said, the name of his nature in *Father*; but he alone is Father. He derives it from no source, nor in a human manner, that he is Father. He is unbegotten, eternal, having in himself the ground of perpetual existence. He is known to the Son only; because no one knows the Father except the Son, and he to whom the

Son shall reveal him. Nor does any one know the Son, except the Father ; they have a mutual knowledge ; each has a perfect cognizance of the other. And because no one knows the Father except the Son, we embrace in our thoughts the Father together with the Son who reveals him, who is the only faithful witness.

“ These things, however, I think rather than describe, respecting the Father ; for I know well that all language is inadequate to the description. He is to be thought of as invisible, incomprehensible, eternal. But this very thing, that he is in and of himself and by himself ; that he is invisible and incomprehensible and immortal ; in all this, indeed, there is a profession of honour, and a designation which has some meaning, and a certain circumscription of opinion ; but still language is not competent for the designation of his nature, and words cannot explain the matter as it is. For when we say, that *he is in himself*, an explanation can not be given by human reason ; for there is a difference between containing and being contained, and that is one thing which is, and that another in which it is. If we say again, that *he is of himself*, no one is at the same time his own giver and also the gift. If we say that *he is immortal* ; then it seems to be implied that there is something besides himself, to which thing he is not exposed ; * nor can he be the sole being, who by the word [immortalis] is declared to be free from the power of another, [viz. from the power of death]. If we say *he is incomprehensible* ; then how can he be any where, of whom it is denied that he is accessible ? if we say that *he is invisible* ; whatever cannot be seen, must be wanting in itself.

“ Our confession respecting him, therefore, is deficient as to appropriate language ; and all words that may be adapted to this purpose, will not describe God as he is, nor his greatness. The perfection of knowledge is, so to know God, that you may know you are not to be ignorant of him, although you can never describe him. He is to be believed in, to be conceived of by the mind, to be adored ; and by the performance of these duties he is to be described.

“ We have launched forth from places where there is no harbour upon the swelling ocean, and can neither return nor go

* The meaning seems to be, that there is an implication that death exists, independently of God ; to which, however, he is not liable.

forward. There is more difficulty, however, as to our future than our past course. The Father is as he is ; and as he is, he is to be believed in. As to the Son, the mind is in consternation when it undertakes to describe him, and speech trembles at disclosing itself. For he is the offspring of him who is unbegotten ; one of one ; the true one of the true one ; living of the living ; perfect of the perfect ; the virtue of virtue ; the wisdom of wisdom ; the glory of glory ; the image of the invisible God ; the form of the unbegotten Father. What shall we think of the generation of the only begotten from the unbegotten ? For the Father often says from heaven : ‘ This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.’ Here is no abscission or division ; for he is impassible who begets, and he is the image of the invisible God who is begotten ; and he testifies that the Father is in him, and he in the Father. There is no adoption ; for he is the true Son of God, and he says that he who has seen him has seen the Father. Neither was he ordered to exist, like other things ; for the only begotten is of one, and has life in himself, as he has who begat him ; for he says : ‘ As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself.’ Nor is it that a *part* of the Father is in the Son ; for the Son testifies, that all which the Father hath is his ; and again, All mine are thine, and thine are mine ; and whatsoever the Father hath, he hath given to the Son. The apostle also declares, that in him dwelleth *all* the fullness of the Godhead bodily. . . . He is the perfect one of the perfect one ; for he who has all things, gave all things. Nor is it to be supposed that he has not given, because he still possesses ; nor that he does not possess, because he has given.

“ Both understand the secret of this nativity. But if any one should impute it to his own understanding, that he cannot attain to the mystery of this generation, when the Father is perfectly understood and the Son [mutually or by each other], he will be the more grieved to hear that I also am ignorant of it. I do not know ; I do not seek to know ; and still I console myself. Archangels are ignorant of it ; angels do not understand it ; ages and generations have not disclosed it ; the prophet did not comprehend it ; the apostle did not inquire after it ; the Son himself did not declare it. Let all complaint be hushed. Whoever thou art, I do not call upon thee to ascend the height above ; nor to traverse immeasurable space ; nor will I lead thee down into the abyss. While thou art ignorant of the ori-

gin of a creature, canst thou not bear it with equanimity to be ignorant of the nativity of the Creator? I ask this of you; You perceive that you are begotten, but do you understand how any thing is begotten by thee? I do not ask whence you derived your reason, how you obtained your life, whence you acquired your understanding, what that is in thee which is smell, feeling, sight, hearing. Certainly no one is ignorant of what he does. I ask how you communicate these things to those whom you beget? How do you engraft the reason? How do you light up the eyes? How do you fix the heart in its station? Tell me these things, if you can. You possess, therefore, what you do not understand; and you give what you cannot comprehend. You bear it with equanimity that you are ignorant of your own matters, and behave with assuming insolence because you are unacquainted with the things of God.

“Hear, then, that the Father is unbegotten; hear that the Son is the only begotten; hear the declaration, The Father is greater than I; hear again, I and my Father are one; hear also, He who hath seen me, hath seen the Father; listen to this, I am in the Father and the Father in me; and to this, I came out from the Father; and this, Who is in the bosom of the Father; and this, All that the Father hath, he hath given to the Son; and this, The Son hath life in himself, even as the Father hath in himself. Hear again, that the Son is the image, wisdom, power, glory of God; and mark well the Spirit proclaiming, His generation who will declare? Then reprove the Lord himself who testifies, No one hath known the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son shall reveal him. Thrust yourself now into this secret concerning the one God unbegotten, and the one God only begotten; plunge yourself into this mystery which surpasses all conception. Begin, go forward, persevere; although I am certain you will never come to the end of your course, yet I will rejoice that you are about to make some progress in it. For he who pursues objects that are infinite, although he can never fully attain them, yet he will be a gainer by making some progress. The true understanding of words on this subject will be brought about by such a course.*

“The Son is from that Father who is; only begotten from unbegotten; progeny from parent; living one from living one. As the Father hath life in himself, so is it given to the Son to

* Stat in hoc intelligentia fine verborum. I am not sure that I have caught the sense. Qui rectius intelligit, corrigat.

have life in himself. The perfect one from the perfect one, because *the whole is from the whole* (totus a toto); without division or abscission,—because the one is in the other, and the fulness of the Godhead is in the Son. The incomprehensible from the incomprehensible; for no one knows them, and only they have mutual knowledge. The invisible from the invisible; for he is the image of the invisible God, and moreover he who hath seen the Son hath seen the Father. One person from another one; for there is Father and Son. The nature [*natura=οὐσία*] of the Godhead is not one and another, for both are one. God of God; the only begotten God of the unbegotten God. There are not two Gods, but one of one; there are not two unbegotten, for there is one born of him who was unborn; the one differs in nothing from the other, because the life of the living One is in the living One.

“These things have we touched upon respecting the nature of the Godhead, not professing to comprehend even the sum of intelligence respecting it, but knowing that we speak of things incomprehensible.

“You will say, then, ‘There is no duty for faith to perform here, if there is nothing that may be comprehended.’ But it is not so; faith acknowledges it to be a duty, to know that what she is inquiring into, is incomprehensible.”

If there be any one now, who can read this with indifference, or turn away from it with a kind of disgust because he looks upon it as a declamatory production of enthusiastic feeling, I acknowledge that I have no sympathies with him in this respect. I cannot refrain from looking upon the whole strain, and on many others of the like nature in the same author, as the result of high and intense effort to express some of the most sacred and reverential feelings that the soul can have in its present imperfect state, toward the glorious Godhead which is revealed in the gospel. That the author of the views just recited has failed in consistency and perspicuity of representation, we may attribute to the extreme difficulties in which the subject was involved, as it came before his mind; difficulties belonging to the age rather than to him.

But that he has not done as well in the expression of his thoughts—at all events as eloquently and forcibly—as has been done by any writer of antiquity, or by most in modern times, candour will hardly deny. I feel myself constrained to reverence such an attitude of soul as he manifests, wherever I meet

with it ; and this, even if the speculative views which the writer cherishes should not bear the light of critical and logical examination. But—to our present purpose.

The whole tenor of the above extract leaves no room for doubt, that Hilary regarded the doctrine of eternal generation, as implying a conveyance of the essence or substance of the Father to the Son ; yet without abscission or division. It is certain that nearly all divine attributes are particularized by him, one after another. If there could be any doubt as to this in the minds of any candid reader, that doubt, it would seem, must be removed by the phrase *totus a toto*, near the close of the extract ; which I have distinctly marked. Indeed the whole tenor of the writings of the ancient Fathers, who defend the principles of the Nicene Creed, puts it beyond reasonable doubt, that they held a communication of the substance (*ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας*) of the Father to the Son ; on which account the Son was and is God, and the object of divine worship. The modern view of Trinitarians, viz., that the Father begets only the *personality* (*ὑπόστασις, persona, πρόσωπον*) of the Son and Spirit, is a nicety in philosophical discussion, from which the ancient Fathers were at a great remove. That the Father communicated the whole of himself to the Son, *οὐσιωδῶς, substantialiter*, is what they assert so often and in so many ways, that doubt concerning it would seem to be impossible.

Indeed the Nicene Creed itself speaks so plainly on this point, that I must confess it to be a matter of wonder with me, that modern theologians have so little noticed the great difference there is, between the real doctrine of that Creed and the modern view of personality in the Godhead which is general among the most intelligent writers. Even in those Christian communities who have adopted the Nicene Symbol into their formula of belief, the leading theologians hold to *numerical unity of substance* in the Godhead ; and of course, that the substance or essence of the Godhead in the Son and Spirit was *not* begotten ; and consequently, that only the *personality* of the second and third persons in the Trinity is of a derived nature.

But here I shall doubtless be asked : ‘ And did not the Nicene Fathers and their adherents believe also in the *numerical* unity of the substance of the Godhead ? ’ And before I proceed any further in my remarks on the Nicene Creed, I must crave the liberty of stopping for a few moments in order to pursue this inquiry. I do this merely because it has so important and ex-

tensive a bearing on most that has been or will be said, in relation to the present topic.

The great contest in respect to the meaning of this Creed, and particularly in relation to the point now before us, has turned upon the words *ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ*. Did the Nicene fathers mean, that the Son is *numerically* of the same substance with the Father? Or did they mean merely that there is a *specific* unity of substance in both Father and Son, i. e. that the species of substance is of the same nature in both, or (in other words) that the kind of substance in both is the same; in like manner as Adam and Seth, both having a human nature in common, were *ὁμοούσιοι*? These are questions that have been often disputed; and yet, as the subject appears to my mind, they are questions that may be satisfactorily answered in a brief way.

There can be no doubt, that the word *ὁμοούσιος* is usually appropriated to designate a unity, which is predicated of things belonging to the same species or having a common nature. If it ever has a different meaning, (as some of the Fathers do occasionally assert), it is merely because it is *cataphorically* employed, i. e. in a sense different from that of common usage.

In order now to answer the questions proposed above, we must survey the current of opinion in relation to the point of inquiry, both before and after the publication of the Nicene Creed; *before this*, because we cannot suppose that there was a sudden leap made by the Nicene fathers, and a wide chasm in opinion between them and their immediate predecessors; *after this*, because the friends and advocates of the Nicene Symbol, who were cotemporary with it, or nearly so, must be supposed best to have understood the meaning of *ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ*.

In presenting the opinions of the fathers who preceded the Council of Nice, I can refer only to the most distinguished of them; and this, in a brief manner. The nature of my present design does not allow me to do any thing more.*

* I quote the opinions of the Fathers by giving a translation merely; because the room cannot be spared here for the original, inasmuch as so many notes containing this must necessarily be subjoined to the Essay of Schleiermacher. Once for all, and to save time and trouble as to any references, or as to doubts about correctness, I refer the reader to Münscher's *Dogmengeschichte*, I. § 91 seq. whose consummate skill in patristical learning is not called in ques-

Justin Martyr names the Son *δύναμις θεοῦ*; by which however, he does not mean an attribute, but an intelligent agent, springing from God. In his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew (pp. 221, 222, edit. Colon.), he labours at large to prove from Gen. 19: 26, that the Father, who is God invisible, must be a different person from the God which appeared to Abraham, whom he holds to have been the Son. In p. 152 of the same work, he says in so many words, that the Logos is different from the Father, and *ἔτερον ἀρίθμῳ, οὐ γνῶμῃ*; where unity of number or numerical unity is very explicitly denied, while the oneness of the Logos with the Godhead is explained as a *oneness of will or sentiment*.

That such must have been the opinion of Justin, as well as of Theophilus and Tatian, must be evident from the fact, that all three of these early teachers, held to the doctrine of a Logos *ἐνδιάθετος* and Logos *προφορικὸς*. That is, according to them, the Logos was not from eternity a hypostasis or existing agent, separate from the Father; but was *in* God as his reason or understanding. When the world was created; when God said: Let there be light, and there was light; then the Logos, which before had been *in* God merely as his reason or understanding, became a Logos *προφορικὸς*, i. e. reason or thought was uttered in words; and these words became a substance, a hypostasis, a separate and animate and rational Being, the Creator of the world, the Son of the Father. His Word, which had from everlasting been reposing in him as reason, now became visible, or was presented to the perception of intelligent beings.

Such is the Logos of Justin, Theophilus, and Tatian. All

tion; and whose almost universal fairness of representation stands unimpeached. There, and in a masterly discussion of the same author, on the sense of the Nicene Creed relative to the very point now in question, which is printed in Henke's Neu. Magazin, VI. p. 334 seq., the reader may find ample illustration and confirmation of all that is now to be said, in relation to the views of the Fathers, with quotations for the most part from the originals. The same thing for substance he may find in Martini's Geschichte des Logos, with ample quotations; and in Keilii Opuscula, de Doctoribus, etc. Comm. IV. But besides these general references, in order that the reader may guard against mistakes that I might make, I give him, for the most part, the particular places in each father, where the sentiment quoted is to be found.

these agree, moreover, that the personality of the Logos, i. e. his becoming *prophoric*, depended on the will of the Father, and not on any necessity in his own nature; see Münscher, *Dogmengesch.* I. § 93. Nothing can be plainer or more certain, then, than that a *numerical* unity of substance in the Godhead, could form no part of the system of doctrine which these fathers embraced respecting the Trinity.

The views of Athenagoras are not capable, perhaps, of being definitely ascertained. There is no doubt, however, that he adopted the idea of Logos *ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφητικός*. But whether the latter was hypostatized by him or not, is still disputed among adepts in patristical lore. Münsch. ubi sup. p. 409 seq.

Irenaeus has occasionally given the most noble example in all antiquity, of aversion to speculative and philosophical disquisitions, in order to explain the origin or generation of the Word or Son of God. "He," says this excellent Father, "who speaks of the Logos (reason) of God, and maintains that this came forth out of him—he makes God a *composite* being; just as if God was one thing, and his original reason another. . . . The prophet says: *His generation—who will narrate it?* [Is. 53:8]. But you [i. e. those who make the explanations in question about a Logos prophoric, etc.] indulge in conjectures respecting his generation, and compare the utterance of human words with the generation of the Logos; whereby you only shew, that you understand neither things human nor divine;" Adv. Haer. I. 10.

This is laying a heavy hand upon some of the speculating theologians of his time. But this is not all.

"When any one inquires of us," says he, "*how* the Son was produced from the Father? Our answer is, that no one knows. Since his generation is inexplicable, they do not know what they pretend to know, who undertake to explain it. . . . A word which proceeds from our understanding we can comprehend. How then can they lay claim to having made great discoveries, who apply these well known matters to the only begotten Logos of God, and represent his inexplicable birth in a way as definite, quasi ipsi obstetricaverint;" Adv. Haeres. II. c. 28. § 6.

This is caustic irony, to be sure; yet one can hardly say that it was not in a good measure deserved, by some of the *prophoric* and *endiathetic* speculations of the day.

In accordance with these enlightened views, Irenaeus casts

away the expression that the Son is a *προβολή* (emanation) from the Father ; he rejects the comparison of the sun's radiance with the body of the sun, and also of the production of human words by human reason. In a word, he abandons all created analogies, as inevitably and necessarily leading to error ; II. c. 13.

This father was so offended at the attempts to explain the generation of the Son, that he has avoided, for the most part, all expressions, that would lead us to a very definite knowledge of his views concerning *personality* and *unity* in the Godhead ; I mean as to the relative sense of these to each other. In Haeres. IV. c. 6. § 6 he says, that " the Father is *ἀόρατον*, the invisible part of the Son, and the Son is the *όρατόν*, the visible part of the Father." This looks as if he verged toward the views, that have been gaining ground among some Trinitarians for the last fifty years, viz., that *the Father is God concealed, and the Son is God revealed*. Yet in other places he seems to speak of the Son in the usual hypostatic way, as being separate from the Father ; but of the manner in which this separation is to be made congruous with unity, he has not explicitly said any thing. See Lib. III. c. 6. § 1. IV. c. 20. § 11, and c. 10. § 2. IV. c. 7. § 4. II. c. 28. § 8, etc.

Clement of Alexandria came nearer to the views of the Nicene Creed. He maintained, indeed, the doctrine of a *λόγος ἐνδιαθετός*, respecting which that Creed is not explicit. But the production of the Logos as a hypostasis, *before* the creation of the world, he fully admitted. He makes the Son the copy—the exact copy of the Father (*θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ*) ; but still he represents his dignity and his nature as depending on the will of the Father ; Münsch. § 96. Of course he could not have admitted the doctrine of a *numerical* unity in the substance of the Godhead.

Tertullian, in the vehemence of his opposition to the views of Praxeas, whom he regarded as denying the separate hypostasis of the Son, has expressed himself with more warmth and eloquence than logic, in regard to this subject. His assertions appear, at least, to be irreconcilable with each other. In one place he says of the persons in the Trinity ; "*Numerum sine divisione patiuntur* ;" which looks like holding to a numerical unity of substance ; Contra Prax. c. 2. In another place (cap. 9) he says "*Pater enim tota substantia est, Filius vero derivatio totius et portio.*" In one place (cap. 2) he says : "*Unius*

substantiae, unius status, et unius potestatis;" in another (cap. 9): "Sic et Pater alius a filio, dum filio major." In another place (cap. 22) he shews more definitely what he means by *unity*: "Unum dicit quod . . . pertinet ad unitatem, ad similitudinem, ad conjunctionem, ad dilectionem Patris, et ad obsequium Filii . . . et ita *per opera* intelligimus unum Patrem et Filium." And in another (cap. 2): "Quasi non sic unus sit omnia, dum ex uno omnia, per substantiae scilicet unitatem, et nihilominus custodiatur *οἰκονομίας* sacramentum" [the mystery of the gospel-dispensation]. In this last case, the *unity* of substance is evidently *homogeneousness* of substance, and not numerical unity. This homogeneousness he admits, because the Son is *portio* substantiae Patris, as he had before said. Accordingly he compares the Son (cap. 8) with the fruit which springs from the tree, with the stream which issues from the fountain, and with the radiance that flows from the sun.

Origen's views are well known. Son and Spirit, according to him, have their origin as hypostases, in the free will of the Father; they are subordinate to him, although they are the exact reflection of his glory; the unity in the Godhead is a unity of will, a harmony of design and operation; not a numerical or substantial unity, against which he strongly protests. "The Father," says he, "is the ground-cause or original source of all. Inferior to the Father is the Son, who operates merely on rational beings; for he is second to the Father. Still more inferior is the Holy Spirit, whose influence is limited to the church. The power of the Father, then, is greater than the power of the Son and of the Spirit. The power of the Son is greater than that of the Holy Ghost. And lastly, the power of the Holy Ghost is greater than that of all other holy beings;" De Princip. I. c. 3. The *original* is in Justinian Ep. ad Me-nam. The version of Rufinus has misrepresented the sense here.

Dionysius, the pupil and successor of Origen at Alexandria, wrote against Sabellius. His writings are preserved only in fragments, quoted by Athanasius and others. In his diatribe against Sabellius, he names the Son *a creation* and *work* of the Father, which has not the same nature with him, but differs in essence from him. He maintains that the relation of the Son to the Father, is like that of the vine to the vintner, or the ship to its builder; and asserts that the Son, as such, had no existence before he was created; Athanas. de Sentent. Dionys.

cont. Arian. I. p. 551. edit. Colon. The excess of this diversity he afterwards corrected, and retreated back nearly to the opinions of Clement of Alexandria; Münsch. § 101.

Gregory Thaumaturgus not only attributes to the Son a separate hypostasis, but calls him a *creation* (*κρίσις*). Basil seeks to explain away this, (ep. 210. Opp. III. p. 316); but finds it a very difficult task.

Dionysius of Rome, cotemporary with Dionysius of Alexandria, opposes the views of the latter, and seeks to shew that the Son is not *created* but *begotten*, that he is dependent on the Father, but yet eternal; and therefore he comes nearest of all to the views of the Nicene Creed.

Cyprian has presented no very explicit views in relation to this subject. It is probable that he agreed in the main with Tertullian, for whom he cherished a warm attachment. In one place, however, he says that the Holy Ghost is inferior to the Son, (Epist. ad Pomp. 74); and in another, he says that the Father is greater than the Son, (Epist. 73, ad Jub.)

Where now can any ground be discovered here, which will lead us to believe that the fathers of the Nicene Council were prepared by the *preceding* state of opinion, to maintain the *numerical* unity of substance in the Godhead? All is either unity of counsel, will, and operation; or else *homogeneousness* of substance, on the ground that the Son must be of the same nature with the Parent.

Let us now pass to the times following the period of the Nicene Council. (a) One hundred and twenty-six years after this period, an ecumenical Council was assembled at Chalcedon, some distance below Byzantium, and on the opposite side of the Bosphorus near the head of the Propontis. This Council sanctioned anew the Nicene Symbol; and in their declaration they state, that "Jesus Christ, as to his Godhead, is *ὁμοούσιος* with the Father; and as to his humanity, he is *ὁμοούσιος* with us." Now as it is impossible to suppose, that they meant to assert a *numerical* unity of Christ with us; so, as they have here given us a clue to the meaning which they attached to *ὁμοούσιος*, we cannot suppose them to have understood the word as designating any thing more than *homogeneousness* of substance with the Father.

(b) The main point in dispute between the Nicene Fathers and the Arians, was not whether there was a numerical unity in the Godhead, but whether the Son was a *created* Being,

made in time, and properly belonging the order of *created* intelligencies. In the close of their formula (*ἦν ποτε οὐκ ἦν κ. τ. λ.*) the Council have utterly, and to the full extent that language allows, abjured these tenets of Arius. In opposition to him they maintain, that the Son was "*begotten* of the substance of the Father," and assert his true divinity in consequence of such descent. But all this bears not on the point, whether the Godhead in both is a *numerical* unity. It simply maintains the point of *homogeneousness*, and also, (for this seems to be implied in the phrase *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς*), that his generation depended not on the *will* of the Father, as many preceding theologians had taught, but that it belonged essentially to, or proceeded from, the very nature of the Father.

(c) Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian, who was present at the Council of Nice, tells us that he found difficulties in subscribing to the expressions *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς* and *ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί*, which were introduced into their Symbol. These difficulties he proposed to the Council; and he received for explanation the assurance, that what they meant to express by *ὁμοούσιος* was, that there is no likeness (*ἐμμέτεια*) between the Son of God and any created beings; that he alone was in all respects like to the Father, who had begotten him; and that he originated not from any other being, or substance, but only from the Father. In maintaining his derivation by generation, they avowed that they did not mean to imply any thing like a corporeal generation, nothing of separation or division, and not even that any change or passion in the Father should be implied, but that the generation was indescribable and incomprehensible.

With these explanations, inclined as he was to deal very leniently with the speculations of Arius, he voluntarily subscribed the Creed. Yet none of these explanations have respect to *numerical* unity of substance. They only show, that the Council meant to deny the principal thing which Arius affirmed.

(d) But the explanations of Eusebius, who was no friend to *ὁμοουσία*, may not be deemed impartial and satisfactory. We will resort then, to the testimony of Athanasius; for this cannot be called in question, on any such ground.

When the Nicene Council gave their opinion that the Son was of the Father, i. e. was derived from him, the Arians admitted this. But they construed it in their own way, viz., that

he was of the Father in like manner as all created beings are. To put an end to this evasion the Council inserted ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς in their Creed, which could not be said in reference to the derivation of any *created* objects.

Again, the Council maintained that the Son was the εἰκὼν (image) of the Father. This the Arians conceded; for man, said they, was made in the image of God. To meet this evasion, the Council inserted ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ, which excluded the idea of likeness merely in the way of imitation, and implied a real homogeneousness of nature. Athanas. Opp. I. p. 297. Epist. ad Afric. pp. 936, 937.

According to these explanations then, the expressions “of the substance of the Father” and “homoousian with the Father,” were originally and purposely designed to be antithetic to the views of the Arians; but not to assert the *numerical* unity of the Godhead, which was not a matter of contest between the parties.

In another passage, Athanasius proposes to those who dislike ὁμοούσιος because it is not a scriptural expression, to substitute for it the expression, *Son by nature*. The meaning of this, as he expounds it, is, that the Son is not a *created* being, and has no beginning of existence in time. Whoever acknowledges this, he regards as acknowledging that the Son is ὁμοούσιος. Ep. ad Afros. p. 940. Now such an acknowledgment would be a real and thorough renunciation of Arianism; but it would be no recognition of the numerical unity of the Godhead.

In another passage, Athanasius considers ὁμοούσιος and ὁμοφύης as equivalent expressions; De Synod. Arim. et Seleuc. p. 923. But ὁμοφύης designates *specific* unity, not numeric. In another passage he says, that the Son is τοιοῦτος ὅτις ὁ πατήρ; Orat. cont. Arianos, p. 326.

Athanasius rejects the expression μονοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ, and considers it as being Sabellian; I. p. 241. In another place he says of the οὐσία of the Son, that it is γέννημα οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς; de Synodis, p. 923. Moreover he admits of two kinds of οὐσiai, viz., an οὐσία ἀγέννητος and an οὐσία γεννητός. How can these be *numerically* one and the same?

(e) Gregory Nazianzen was confessedly a disbeliever in *numerical* unity and admitted only a specific unity. He places the unity of the Godhead in harmony of purposes and operations, ὥστε πᾶν ἀρίθμῳ διαφέρει, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ μὴ τέμνεσθαι, ‘so that although they [the persons in the Godhead] differ in num-

ber, they are not divided in power;' Opp. I. p. 562. He brings an example from the like natures of Adam, Eve, and Seth, who were ὁμοούσιοι, to illustrate the ὁμοουσία of the Godhead, p. 598. He even compares the Trinity to three suns, which shine with combined light.

(f) Basil, the particular friend of Gregory, cherished the same views. He says, that the advocates of the Nicene Creed acknowledge a God who is one, not in a *numerical* way, but as being of one nature, ἓνα οὐκ ἀρίθμῳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει; III. p. 81. Again, the Father is φῶς ἀναρχον, but the Son is φῶς γεννηθέν; and he represents the Nicene Fathers as choosing the word ὁμοούσιος in order to designate ὁμότιμον τῆς φύσεως, i. e. the same *dignity* of nature; Ep. 52. p. 145. The unity then is not *numerical*, in his view, but specific and one of like rank or elevation.

(g) Finally, Gregory of Nyssa, the third in this cotemporary band of very distinguished men, is more explicit still in favour of *specific* unity. He repels the charge of Tritheism, and says, that one need not aver that there are *three* Gods, because the name God is a *generic* idea, whereby the whole divine nature is designated. This he illustrates by referring to Peter, Paul, and Barnabas, who, he says, were not three οὐσίαι, but only one. If one calls them three men, he goes on to say, this is only by a *catachresis* or abuse of language, which indeed may be allowed in respect to men, but cannot be made use of in respect to the Godhead; Opp. II. p. 914. Cur non tres Dii sunt, p 447 seq.

It lies now upon the very face of this representation, that *Godhead* was in his mind only a generic idea; and that Father, Son, and Spirit were individuals under this *genus*. How this differs from theoretical Tritheism, it would be very difficult to show.

Lower down we need not go, in order to show how the ὁμοούσιος of the Nicene Symbol was understood. It were easy to appeal to Chrysostom; who not only calls Adam and Eve ὁμοούσιοι (Homil. XVI. in Gen.), but appeals to the fact that children are of the same nature (ὁμοούσιοι) with their parents, in order to show that the Son is ὁμοούσιος with the Father; Orat. advers. Anom. I. p. 359. ed. Francof. So Hilary, in explaining the unity of the Father and the Son, comes at last to the conclusion, that it consists in having the same power and glory; De Synodis, pp. 1187—1191. De Trinit. III. p. 828 seq.

In a word, that a *homogeneousness* of nature, and not a numerical unity of substance, was understood by the leading teachers in the churches, after the Council of Nice, to constitute the unity of the Godhead, appears from the fact, that three of them, viz. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nysa, one and all, unite in insisting, that there is in the Godhead, in and by itself considered, three hypostases and one divine substance. Their own explanation of what they meant by this proposition, seems to leave us no room for doubt how we are to class their opinion. They compare the three hypostases of the Godhead to *individuals* among men. They tell us that Paul, Peter, and John are three different subjects or hypostases; and yet all belong to the same genus, i. e. to the genus *man*. So in the Godhead there are three subjects, as they assert, which have one and the same nature, inasmuch as they belong to the genus *divinum*; i. e. they all partake of the nature of Godhead. Basil Opp. III. p. 115 seq. Greg. Naz. Orat. XXIII. p. 423. See also Theodoret, Dial. I. Opp. IV. p. 67, ed. Halle.

But I have proceeded far enough. All which results from this view, lies indeed upon the very face of the Nicene Creed. The Son is θεός ἐκ θεοῦ, ὡς ἐκ πατρός; then he is of course not οὐσία ἀγέννητος, like the Father; and therefore a proper *numerical* unity of substance seems to be out of all question. The Son only belongs to the same *genus*, or (if one prefers so expressing it) *species*, and has therefore only a *specific* unity. Self-existent substance and independent being are entirely out of the question. This idea the Nicene Fathers, at least many of them, would probably have opposed with all their might; for, as bishop Bull affirms, *cum uno ore* they declared, that the Father only is ἀντόθεος.

I return from this digression, (if indeed that must be named *digression*, which connects itself so intimately with the inquiry respecting the real views of the Nicene Creed), to make some further remarks on the main position of that Symbol, viz., the *divine derivation* of the Son; and also on those views of the Trinity which are more usually presented by the leading orthodox writers of modern times, and which stand connected as to their origin with the doctrine of the Nicene Creed.

4. Dr. S., in the extract from his *Glaubenslehre* given in the preceding pages, has briefly suggested, but not fully illustrated, the inconsistency of the Athanasian or Nicene views of the

Trinity, with the *equality* of the persons in the Godhead as to *power and glory*. The additional views which I wish here to suggest, may be summarily exhibited as follows.

The eternal power and Godhead of the Divinity “are clearly seen by the things that are made;” at least we must acknowledge this, if we take the apostle for our guide. “The heavens declare his glory, and the firmament sheweth forth the works of his hands,” if we are to credit the Psalmist. The view of God as creator and author of all things, is one of the most exalted which the Bible discloses. Hence when the challenge is made to compare him with all idol gods, the holy prophets appeal to the attribute of Jehovah as creator and author of all things, as the final and unquestionable decision of the matter in debate.

It is then one of the highest exhibitions of *power* made by the Godhead, that it is the efficient cause of being. Consequently the *glory* due to God, and given to him by holy beings, for and on account of this, is one among the most conspicuous features of all the glory which is ascribed to him.

But if such power and glory are his, because he is the author of inferior beings and of the natural creation, is not unspeakably more power and glory exhibited, (and therefore may be justly claimed), by the generation of the Son and procession of the Spirit? If the Father is the *fons et principium* of the second and third persons, as the Latin fathers say: or the *αἰτία* or *αἰτίον* of these, as the Greek ones affirm; then the power and glory manifested in the production of Godhead itself is as much greater than what is manifested in the creation of inferior things, as Godhead is elevated above them. The higher we rank the second and third persons of the Trinity, then, the more in proportion do we elevate the power and glory of the first person who produced them.

I do not see that we can retreat from the consequences of such a sentiment, by saying that *ἀγεννησία* is the characteristic merely of the first person, *filiatio* of the second, and *ἐκπεμψις* of the third. The characteristic of *ἀγεννησία* involves in its very nature attributes fundamental and essential to Godhead itself. Be it that you allow the Son and Spirit to be the author of the natural and spiritual creation, you still place the Father immeasurably above them, when you make him the sole author of the generation of the Son as a divine nature, or (if you believe with the Greek church of ancient days) of the procession of the Spirit who is of the same nature. The *Fons et Principium* of

GODHEAD must be immeasurably and beyond all conception above any and all other beings.

Nor is this radical difficulty removed, by the modified views and more cautious statements of modern theologians. According to them, the Father is the author of only the *subsistence*, i. e. the *modus existendi* or personality of the Son and Spirit, while the substance or essence of the Godhead is *numerically* one and the same in all the three persons. But here too a difficulty arises of somewhat formidable magnitude. It is this. Father and Son and Spirit are conceded to be numerically one and the same in essence or substance. Yet, if we are to credit the views now before us, we must at least believe that the Father is the origin or author of the *modus existendi* of the Son and Spirit. The whole reduces itself then simply to this, viz., that while the substance of the Son and Spirit is self-existent and independent and the same with that of the Father, it has still no *modus existendi* but that which the Father gives it. But how, we may be allowed to ask, could the substance of the Son and Spirit be self-existent and independent, and yet be supposed to exist without any *modus existendi* necessarily attached to it? And if that *modus* cannot by any possibility be even imagined to be disconnected from the existence of the substance itself, and cannot possibly have ever been as it were in abeyance and waiting to be determined, how could that *modus* spring from the Father, and not come from, or be necessarily connected with, self-existent substance itself? Or (to put the matter in another light), how is it that the Father, being *one and the same substance* numerically with the Son and Spirit, could have the attribute of *ἀγεννησία*, while the Son and Spirit have it not? Do not attributes, at least according to the usual methods of thinking and reasoning, arise from the nature and essence of substances? And if the Son and Spirit possess the same substance in all respects, (which must be true if the substance of the Godhead is *numerically* one), then how can it be shewn, that the second and third persons are dependent for the *mode* of their existence on the first? The same causes produce the same effects. If the very same substance belongs to the Father which belongs to the Son and Spirit; and, as possessing this, the Father has *ἀγεννησία*; how can it be shewn, that the attributes attached to this substance must not in each case be the same?

But if you say again, in order to avoid the difficulty now suggested, that ‘there may be a distinction in some respects in the

Godhead, which does not involve the question of *equality of power and glory*, I concede this ; but then I ask, whether it has not been shewn above, that the difference now before us cannot be deemed to be one of this nature. To be the author of the proper substance of the Godhead of Son and Spirit, according to the patristical creed ; or to be the author of the *modus existendi* of the Son and Spirit, according to the modern creed ; both seem to involve the idea of a power and glory in the Father, immeasurably above that of the Son and Spirit ; and this, just in the ratio stated by Origen.

The venerable Ridgley, who is not wont to shrink from difficulties, and was somewhat deeply imbued with attachment to Symbols, feels obliged, for the reasons above suggested or some others, (for he does not expressly assign his reasons), thus to declare himself, (Body of Div. I. p. 123, ed. 1731) : “ The principal thing in which I am obliged, till I receive further conviction, to differ from many others, is, *whether the Son and Spirit have a communicated or derived personality*. This many assert, but, I think, without sufficient proof ; for I cannot but conclude, that the divine personality, not only of the Father, but of the Son and Spirit, is as much independent and underived, as the divine essence.” He had before repeatedly said, that Father, Son, and Spirit have the same *self-existent* divine nature.

This sensible and solid writer then goes on to shew, that all the texts which are brought to prove the doctrine of eternal generation, refer to Christ as *Mediator* ; and that the name *Son of God*, has reference to the same character.

But as Ridgley is not held by some to be orthodox on this point, let us turn our attention for a moment to the more sharp-sighted and powerful Turretin. “ The essence,” says he (I. p. 306), “ is one ; the persons are three ; that is absolute, these are relative ; that is communicable, these are incommunicable.”

But how can this last declaration be substantiated to our satisfaction ? How can *self-existent* essence be communicated ? The being that exists by *communication* from another, is of course dependent on that other ; and what can it mean that a *self-existent essence* is communicated to him, who does not become self-existent thereby ? Or if he is self-existent, then how can he exist by *communicated* substance ?

These difficulties are not diminished, when the venerable writer just cited says : “ [The essence] is communicable not in the way of multiplication, but *secundum identitatem*, i. e. in the way

of identity. . . . For although the essence is in sum the same as the three persons taken together, yet each [person] has a somewhat larger extension (*latior est*), because each person has the whole Godhead; although not adequately and totally, so to speak, i. e. not exclusively in respect to the other persons, for it belongs to them all."

How *identity* can be communicated, remains as yet unexplained; and as to the allegation, that each person has the whole Godhead, and yet that this Godhead belongs in common to them all, it needs a mind of greater subtilty than I possess, to deduce an intelligible proposition out of this.

After all, Turretin, in pursuing the distinction of personality to the *ne plus ultra*, comes in the end to this conclusion: "*Person* may be said to differ from *essence*, not really and essentially, as one thing and another thing; but *modally*, i. e. as *modus* differs from the thing itself." He goes still further; for the attributes of God, such as power, wisdom, justice, etc., he makes *essential* to Godhead; but personality, he thinks, is *not* of the divine essence; "it is God in the concrete, but not in the abstract."

How all of these representations, (which are only a specimen of what many others are), can be made to consist together, is a fair question, and one of serious import. Let us pass in review the course of thought. First we have it, that only the essence of the Deity is communicable, and this in the way of *identity*. Personality or the *modus existendi* cannot be communicated. It is to be remembered in the meantime, that we have the recognition, every where, that the substance of the Godhead is *numerically one and the same*, in all the three persons, inasmuch as it is self-existent in all. Then again, although personality is only *modal*, i. e. *modus existendi* only, yet the personality of Son and Spirit Turretin holds to be *derived* from the Father. But how is this to be made out, when the same writer expressly tells us that personality is an *incommunicable* attribute? How could the Father give, what he could not communicate? I might add: How could he give that, which (according to Turretin) he did not so possess as to give? inasmuch as the *modus existendi* of the Son is necessarily attached to the substance of his Godhead, and this substance is *self-existent*, not given or communicated by the Father. To say that the Son had no personality except that which was *given*, would be to say that his substance

existed without any *modus existendi* ; which does not seem to need refutation.

If then the Father communicates personality, i. e. *modus existendi*, to the second and third persons of the Godhead, it must be because he communicates his *substance* to them ; and so the communication of the substance occasions the personality. But this view, which is the ancient Nicene one, has also difficulties enough. If the whole substance is identically communicated, then personality is bestowed of course along with it ; for *modus existendi* must necessarily accompany substance in all its conditions. If this be so, and the whole substance of the Father is *identically* communicated, then why should not *ἀγερνησία* and *paternitas* belong to the second and third persons of the Godhead, as well as to the first ? But if personality is given without the communication, or independently of the communication, of the substance of the Godhead, then how can personality be an *incommunicable* attribute ?

Such are the difficulties that force themselves upon my mind, in relation to this scheme of Trinitarianism, so extensively received in modern times, in the room of the ancient Nicene views. Are the difficulties lessened in any good measure, by the efforts of even a Turretin to explain them ? And can a simple view of the scriptural doctrine, be one fraught with such an excessive measure of subtilties as this ? And indeed we may well be permitted to ask : Can the human mind reconcile views so discrepant and jarring ? And where in all the Bible do we find any thing which introduces such subtle views to our notice ?

I am aware of the manner in which suggestions of this nature are usually met. ‘The mystery of the Trinity,’ it is said, ‘is high and holy and inscrutable.’ True, indeed ; it is and must be so. No serious mind will object to this sentiment, if it be properly defined and understood. But may we not be allowed to ask, after what has been produced above : Why have so many men, who allow in theory that the mystery of the Trinity is inscrutable, practically neglected what they have urged upon others, and undertaken to give us graphic and specific views of it, and to settle with precision the relation of the persons in the Godhead ? Why did they not content themselves with adopting the simple biblical declarations, and leave the subject there if it be truly inscrutable ? How can the man who believes really and truly, that in many respects the *modus existendi* of the Godhead

is altogether inscrutable, when he reads many things that have been written on this subject, refrain from the conviction and feeling, that those persons are usually most prone to exclaim, *mystery! mystery!* on every occasion where close inquiry is urged, who take the greatest liberties of all in defining, or attempting to define, the mysteries of the Godhead by metaphysical propositions?

Or will it be said, (as doubtless it may be), that all the difficulties and apparent contradictions which we may seem to find in the views of the Nicene fathers, or of many modern Trinitarians, arise simply from the fact, that the divine substance and subsistence or *modus existendi* are altogether different from those of created things; and that such conclusions as those that have been drawn above, are drawn merely by virtue of analogical reasoning which will not hold here?

If this should be alleged, as it probably will be because it often has been, the answer is near at hand. A sincere believer in a scriptural Trinity, who at the same time is cautious in making positive statements, might still reply and say: 'If it be indeed true, as you affirm, that the divine substance and subsistence are immeasurably above our comprehension, and that no analogies in that mode of reasoning which has its basis in truths that respect created things, will apply here, then what confidence do you, by your own averment, allow me to place in your own propositions and distinctions and minute and subtile divisions of a metaphysical nature? Is God absolutely incomprehensible, and so infinitely superior to all perception and knowledge on our part? Is the mystery of the Trinity one that is so utterly unfathomable and beyond investigation? Then why should you call on me to follow you through distinctions respecting the Godhead, which purport to be the result of the most complete and entire analytical knowledge; distinctions indeed so minute, that nothing short of a full view of the whole subject, a complete analysis of the Godhead, can fairly be a ground of support for them? You urge on me the mysterious and incomprehensible and awful nature of this subject; and all this I fully believe in, as to various particulars; and yet you seem to me, at the very moment when you are doing this, to be yourself endeavouring to enter into the *sanctum sanctorum* itself of the Godhead; and rending the sacred veil asunder, you are anxiously striving to inspect those things which mortal eyes are not permitted to behold, and to speak those things which it is not lawful for any one

to utter ! If such is your case, what ground can you claim of complaint against the freedom and temerity of others in speculation on the subject of the Trinity ?

Most fully do I accede to the proposition, that in many respects the being and perfections of God must be objects that are elevated far above our comprehension. I repeat this sentiment to avoid being misunderstood. But my difficulty with you is, that while you so often and audibly proclaim this, you appear to have so little of apprehension, that you are yourself becoming an offender against the very doctrine which you proclaim.

I do not see what reply any one of the minute metaphysical definers of the Trinity could well make to this. Certainly those ought not to cry out *mystery*, in order to repress the inquiries of others, who consider and treat the whole subject as though it were within their own grasp.

The impression naturally made upon my mind by the reading of some books on the subject of the Trinity, is, that those who warn us most against reasoning *more humano* concerning it, are usually those whose reasoning will least bear the test of close examination. It is peculiar to conscious strength never to boast, and never to shrink from contest. Usually it is only when a man sees his cause to be weak, or suspects it to be so, that he cries out *procul ! O procul !* to others. But in many a case of this kind, a great mistake is committed. The man who warns against all approach to the most holy place, has himself, perhaps, not only thrust aside the vail which screened it from view, but without even putting the shoes from off his feet has endeavoured to traverse the whole of the sacred enclosure. Then why does he so zealously warn us against all approach ? The believer, as already mentioned above, might well say : ‘ Is it not lawful for me to examine what he tells me I must believe ? If his mind has comprehended what he teaches, why cannot mine comprehend it too ? What he has taught, I may apprehend and learn. If he has said unintelligible things, I know full truly that they must have been unintelligible to him as well as to me. Why should he attempt to hinder me from examining the consistency and propriety of his assertions, by averring that the subject of which he treats is mysterious ? Be it so ; yet so far as he himself can penetrate into this mystery, so far I can follow him, provided I am not much his inferior ; and if I am, there are others

able to follow him. What he can teach, others can learn. What is *unknowable*, he does not understand any better than I do ; why then should he make propositions concerning it, as though he did understand it, and then forbid me to examine them on the ground that the subject is *mysterious*? So far as it is so, it is mysterious to him as well as to me. Why should he attempt to make the impression on me, that he understands the deep things of God, and then tell me that the place where he has taken his own stand is too holy for me to approach? This may do with minds of a certain cast, which are too indolent or too little informed to think for themselves ; but every mind truly enlightened and that thinks for itself, will easily understand how inconsistent and futile all allegations of the nature in question are, when they are made rather to cover the defects of one's own reasoning, or the inconsistency of his assertions, than to distinguish the true boundaries between what is knowable and what is not. I would that all the lovers of truth might forbear making any efforts to hide the faults of their reasoning or the conscious weakness of their cause, under exclamations of such a nature as have been suggested. The men who most indulge in them, are not unfrequently those who most offend against the very rules which they prescribe to others.'

But I am digressing from my subject. Let us return, then, and inquire a little further respecting the views of the Nicene fathers.

We have seen that the *equal power and glory* of the three persons in the Godhead does not seem to be compatible with their mode of setting forth the doctrine of the Trinity. We have also seen, that the greatly modified views of leading Trinitarians in modern times, do not by any means relieve the subject from seeming incongruities and apparently insurmountable obstacles. But I must caution my readers against deducing any thing from all this, to the prejudice of the scriptural doctrine itself of the Trinity. What can be more obvious, than that writers in ancient and in modern times, who believed in the true and real divinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, may have made imperfect representations of this, and such as will not bear scanning by the principles of criticism and logic, and yet the doctrine itself be true? Might I not easily bring forward analogies of this kind? Do we not know, that the great and cardinal doctrine of the atonement was for ages

represented as a compensation or-satisfaction made to the leader of the spirits of darkness, on account of taking men away from his dominion? Now this obscured, but did not quench, the glory of this doctrine. And so it has been with other doctrines; and that of the Trinity does not seem to form an exception.

The darkness that is in men, is not in God, nor in his truth. Clouds may eclipse the sun; but they will pass over, and sooner or later he will shine in all his strength.

Allowing then that ages and generations have failed to represent, in a satisfactory manner, the great doctrine of the Trinity, it is no proof that it is not true; nor is it even a proof, that in its *practical* bearings it had not a substantial influence upon the minds of Christians, when imperfectly represented, although not its full and proper influence. When the error noted above respecting the atonement was cherished and propagated, it did not hinder Christians from believing in the vicarious satisfaction made by the death of Christ, nor extinguish the gratitude that was felt for his redemption.

So in the case before us. When we examine, part by part, the imperfections of the Nicene Creed, we may be tempted to ask: Can the abettors of this be regarded as believers in the divinity of the Son and Spirit? Indeed we almost spontaneously ask: Shall we draw the conclusion that the Nicene fathers, and those who preceded and followed them and sympathized in their views and expressions, were Arians or Tritheists? Candour will oblige us to say, I have no doubt at all, that they had no apprehension of cherishing the errors of either the one or the other of these parties. That they meant *not* to be Arians, their rigid scrutiny, their most thorough opposition to and denunciation of their peculiar sentiments, show so plainly, that a man must shut his eyes against the light of the mid-day sun, if he does not perceive it. That they disclaimed Tritheism, every where appears in all their writings. Most abundant pains did they take to do this. In *intention* and *design*, then, or in their own estimation, they were neither Arians nor Tritheists, but believers in the real divinity of the Saviour, and probably of the Spirit; and if so, then they were worshippers of a Trinity in Unity.

The question what they supposed themselves to be and meant to be, does not indeed seem to admit of any rational doubt. The answer lies upon the face of their multiplied and

most solemn and earnest asseverations and explanations. But the question, after all, whether the principles which they assumed and defended, would not, when understood in a simply logical way, lead to something not much diverse from Arianism, or else to Tritheism, is a question of a very different nature from those that have just been put. It is impossible for me in my own mind to hesitate in saying, that either what is but little better than Arianism, or else what amounts to real theoretical Tritheism, must be the legitimate and inevitable *logical* result of their principles. I readily allow that these are serious declarations, and such as involve responsibility; and we must stop for a moment to consider them.

The essence of Arianism consisted in maintaining, that *Christ was a being in some respects inferior to God, and created in time*; in other words, that he was a derived, dependent being, and therefore neither infinite nor eternal. The great rallying point was, that he was a *created* being. On this, by deduction, all the rest of Arius' positions depended.

This position the Nicene Fathers, in the most express and direct manner possible, often and earnestly contradicted. We ought in justice to allow their disclaimer or contradiction. But what did they substitute in the room of an origin by *creation*? They substituted *generation*—and (by implication) *eternal* generation, inasmuch as they anathematize all who say, ἡν ποτε οὐκ ἦν. Where then are we now? We are simply in this predicament, viz., we have passed from the camp of those who maintain a beginning of the Son's existence *in time* and *by creation*, and gone over to the camp of those who declare that there is no definite time or limitation as to the beginning of the Son's existence, and that he was not created but *begotten*. It is well; but we may still inquire, How much have we gained by this transition? The Scriptures assert that Christ is *God over all*, that he is *the true God and eternal life*, that he is the *great God our Saviour*; assigning to him the highest possible names and attributes. In possession of such inspired declarations, we are spontaneously compelled, living as we do beneath the light of the present advanced gospel-day, to attach the attributes of self-existence and independence to the Son of God; for without these, our minds can form no idea of a *God over all, the true God, and the great God*. Yet the Nicene Symbol tells us, that the Son is a *derived* God, θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ, ὡς ἐκ πατρὸς. If so, then he has neither self-ex-

istence nor independence. To assert that the idea of *dependence* is not necessarily connected with the plain and obvious sense of the Nicene Creed, is to assert that language has no appropriate meaning, or that it may mean any thing or every thing, at the will of the interpreter. And then the very fact that the origin of the Son is expressly and designedly traced to the Father, shows that the idea of self-existence is *designedly* contradicted.

I repeat the question then : What have we gained by a transition from the camp of the Arians to that of the Nicenians ? We have gained one advantage, at least, viz., the position that the existence of the Son is not of definite and temporary origin, but eternal. So far, so good ; for “ the Logos was *in the beginning* with God and was God ”—was God even *then*. But as to the other all-important points, viz., self-existence and independence—attributes without which our minds are unable now to form any conception of true and proper Godhead—have we gained any thing here by our transition ? Not in the least. All that the Nicene Symbol does, is to deny one mode of production, viz. creation as asserted by the Arians, and to put another in its stead. *Production* or *generation*—applied fully and directly to the Saviour’s *divine* nature—is what the Nicene fathers meant most explicitly to declare.

As soberly contemplated by us, then, of the present day, it is really a matter of comparatively small importance, whether Nicenian or Arian views now obtain the ascendancy. Neither of them in fact go any further, than an effort to explain the *manner* in which the Son originated, viz., whether it was by creation or by generation. And is this a point capable of explanation ? I might appeal to Irenaeus here, and refer the reader to what is quoted from him on a preceding page, (p. 294). Indeed, if the question were fully answered in respect to either of the inquiries just suggested, I see not how it would benefit our faith or our practice. What Christ *is*, is the great question. *How* he became so, is a question of a different nature. It may be very important to remove incongruous assertions respecting this ; but the mode of his existence as divine Logos, how can we expect to understand ?

Both Arius and his opponents, then, virtually acknowledge the *derivation* and *dependence* of the Son. They divide, and dispute, and anathematize each other, because of different opinions about the *mode* of his derivation ; and the dispute was

principally concerning this; although the *time* when his rise took place, was a question that necessarily connected itself with the other.

Why should we greatly sympathize now in such a dispute; a great and bitter dispute about that which Irenaeus declares to be not only unknowable, but which it is presumptuous even to seek to know? For myself I feel compelled to say, that although I view the Nicene Creed as a nearer approach than Arianism to the Scripture doctrine concerning the Son, inasmuch as it maintains that he is *eternal*, yet on the great point of *self-existence* and *independence*, those indispensable and essential attributes of Godhead—what there is to choose between Arianism and Nicenism I wot not. I have repeatedly endeavoured, as my readers will bear me witness, to vindicate the fathers of the Nicene Symbol from all *design* to mar the divinity of the Saviour; but what they intended and purposed to do was one thing; and what is the legitimate consequence of their unwary language, is another. And in this last respect, I know not how to make, after all their opposition to Arius, any very important distinction between him and them. The *modes* in which the Son's existence took rise, cannot well be supposed to belong to *practical* theology at least; and disputes about it can never profit the church, except that it may be important to the interests of truth to repel erroneous declarations respecting any great subject of theology.

I must speak a word, also, on the subject of *Tritheism*. The Nicenians one and all disclaim this. They often and earnestly do so; and they do it with the strongest asseverations. Let us give full credit to their repeated and strong avowals; for honest and pious men we may well believe most of them to have been. Still, when the heat of dispute is passed away; and emanation-philosophy, and polytheistic notions, and Eclecticism have taken their departure from our world, (an everlasting one I would hope); we may now look at and coolly examine the explanations and defences which the Nicenians have made of their views. It is lawful to do so; it is also expedient.

We have seen then, in a word, that the unity of the Godhead is, in their apprehension, *homogeneousness* of nature among the persons of the Trinity; and so in the view of the most distinguished advocates of Anti-arianism. We have seen, that some of these did not scruple to refer to individual per-

sonality among men, and to *specific* unity, as an illustration of their views of personality in the Godhead. As a general thing this cannot be charged upon the defenders of the Symbol in question. Yet there is such an oscillation among them,—such a struggling of the mind, and such a seizing hold of every kind of illustration that promises any analogy or relief amid the difficulties which charges of Tritheism threw in their way—that one must abate much from some representations to be found even in the more moderate part of them, in order to get upon safe and solid ground.

At all events, whatever disclaimer may be made as to Tritheism, the comparison of individuality in the Godhead with that among men, does essentially involve theoretical Tritheism. If not, then how could the Greeks be accused of polytheism, who believed in a common nature among the *Dii majores*? And if not, then we must come to the absurd conclusion of Gregory of Nyssa, that it is *catachresis* when we speak of Peter and Paul and Barnabas as *three* men, because in truth they have but *one* common human nature. It is impossible to put the mind upon receiving such an incongruity, without its reluctating. It instinctively revolts; and the worst of it is, that it is apt to go back, driven on by disgust, to some opposite extremity which involves other things nearly or quite as incredible or improbable, or at least as contrary to the simple views of the Scriptures.

In modern times, these particular illustrations of personality, and these modes of asserting distinction in the Godhead, have indeed been pretty generally abandoned, from an instinctive apprehension of their interference with the *unity* of the Godhead. Now and then a zealous partisan of the Nicene Symbol—a Bull, a Waterland, a Jones of Nayland, or some writer of this cast—has told us of three distinct consciousnesses, wills, and affections, in the Godhead, and of the eternal “society” which must have always been in it. But the ears of intelligent Christians in general, are not now open to these things. Yet still, the unwary and unthinking are affected by them, and led unconsciously, it may be, into real Tritheism. But such assertions are avoided with instinctive repugnance, by most of those Christians who have much examined or thought upon the subject. Even the fathers, with all their looseness of expression, did not reach the perilous point, to which the authors of such representations proceed.

Still, Tritheism is not even here *intended*. From this we may fully and cheerfully absolve most of the authors of such declarations. But whatever was the *intention*, we are entitled to ask: What does the language naturally imply? And what will the unlearned reader naturally deduce from it?

But enough. I can only add at the close of this investigation, (protracted much beyond my original intention, in consequence of the deep interest that I have felt in the subject as it grew under my hand), that I never can be a *subordinarian* or a *Nicenian*, nor admit that a *derived* divine nature is true and proper Godhead, until I become satisfied that self-existence and independence are *not* essential to real and veritable Godhead. Until then, I must believe with John, that the Son is "true God and eternal life;" that "in the beginning he was with God, and was God, and made all things;" and with Paul, that he is "God over all and blessed forever," and that he is "the great God and our Saviour." Is not such a being *αὐτόθεος*? Then the Maker of heaven and earth is not so; then God supreme, and great, and true, is not so. But while the New Testament asserts these predicates of the Son, I cannot exchange them—simple, intelligible, awful, delightful as they are—for the emanation-diction of the Nicene Council, and the language of dialectic subtilty which was called into being by the vagaries of Arius. With the yielding and believing Thomas, I can say of my Saviour: *My Lord! and my God!* not "*God of God, light of light.*" The humble and simple Christian, who goes to John and Paul for instruction, will follow them rather than the philosophizing Nicene fathers, great and good as they were; and rather than subtile and speculating modern writers. When the apostles speak, he will listen. If the anathemas of even ecumenical councils were to be fulminated in defence of the Nicene Symbol; if the thunders of the Vatican were to speak loud in its favour; yea, if seven thunders like these were to utter their voices in proclaiming *θεός ἐκ θεοῦ, ὡς ἐκ φωτός*, the humble believer would press the New Testament to his bosom, and say: Jesus, Saviour! Thou art my Lord and my God! Thee, thee I love and adore; the great God, the true God, eternal life, God over all and blessed forever; first and last, king eternal and immortal, only wise God my Saviour; thee, thee, I adore and love and worship forever and ever! Let me be united here and hereafter with those who ascribe "blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honour

and power and might" to thee, God manifest in the flesh, and redeeming a world from ruin by thine own precious blood !

'But where are we now?' I shall doubtless be asked, and not without emotion on the part of some ; 'where are we now ? Is there then no distinction in the Godhead ? Are we then to go back to the heresy of Praxeas, and Noetus, and Sabellius ? or must we become Patripassians ? Must we then deny that the Logos or divine nature of Christ antecedent to the incarnation, was generated by the Father or derived from him ? Truly, while you urge us away from the shoals, you are endeavouring to plunge us into the whirlpool.'

But I must beg the gentle reader to use a little moderation. In such a great business, which has kept ages and generations in a state of boisterous commotion, by reason of the difficulties that men have attached to it through speculation, and philosophy so called, and efforts to unveil mysteries that God's word has not unveiled—in such an affair, we are not to expect that all doctrine is to be laid down, or all the necessary explanations made, in a single paragraph, or even in the same chapter. It is one thing to examine and expose the errors or defects of language or description in Symbols already before the world, and to shew wherein it comes short of ascribing true and real Godhead to Christ, and wherein the advocates of it have approximated now to Arianism, and anon to Tritheism, without any design indeed on their part to do either ; it is another thing to lay down and establish better, more simple, more intelligible propositions in the room of these. The first I have endeavoured to do ; the effort to accomplish the last I must defer, until I shall have first presented the views of Dr. S. in full. In his comparison of the Athanasian with the so-called Sabellian views, he has here and there partially, and at last fully, disclosed his own views of what is true in respect to the doctrine of a Trinity and of a Unity in the Godhead. Those views are at least intelligible. They appear to be self-consistent. They offer no violence to the mind, which believes that God can as well reveal himself to man, as create and preserve him. When these are fully presented, then comes the proper time for me to say, how far I adopt or reject the views of Sabellius or of Schleiermacher. I have already made my objections to the views of the Nicene Creed, and to the modern substitute for it.

The sum of Schleiermacher's opinion, (and it may be grateful to the reader here to have a hint of it), is, that the Unity is

God concealed, and the Trinity is *God revealed*. The Unity or *Monas*, as he supposes, is God *in seipso*, i. e. simply and in and by himself considered, immutable, self-existent, eternal, and possessed of all possible perfection and excellence. But as to the Trinity; the Father is God as revealed in the works of creation, providence, and legislation; the Son is God in human flesh, the divine Logos incarnate; the Holy Ghost is God the Sanctifier, who renovates the hearts of sinners, and dwells in the hearts of believers. The *personality* of the Godhead consists in these *developments*, made in time, and made to intelligent and rational beings. Strictly considered, personality is not in his view eternal; and from the nature of the case (as thus viewed) it could not be, because it consists in developments of the Godhead to intelligent beings; and those developments could not be made, before those beings had existence.

As to the *number* of persons, *three* are reckoned by him, and three only, because the Scriptures reveal no more, and because our natural and moral woes and wants require no more for their full alleviation and satisfaction.

Such are the main features of the portrait drawn by Dr. S.; or rather, such are the mere *outlines* of those features. The explanation and defence of his views are best left to his own efforts; and the reader will meet with both in the sequel. When all that he has to say in the way of proposition, and also of illustration and confirmation, is presented, then it will be appropriate for me to avow my own opinions, and briefly to state some reasons for them.

I cannot adopt the Nicene Creed, because I do not believe that the natural meaning of the words is consistent with an enlightened and scriptural view of the Trinity in Unity. Most fully must I subscribe to the canon laid down by Schleiermacher, viz., that the moral consciousness of Christians, and also the Scriptures, demand such a representation of the persons of the Godhead as will present each as *fully equal* to the other. The Nicene Symbol does not appear to fulfil the demands of this canon. It presents the Father as the *Monas*, the divinity or proper Godhead in and of himself exclusively; it represents him as the *Fons et Principium* of the Son, and therefore gives him superior power and glory. It does not even assert the claims of the Blessed Spirit to Godhead; and therefore leaves room to doubt, whether it means to recognize a *Trinity* or only a *Duality*. After a profession of belief in one God, the Father,

who is the maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, who is the only begotten ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς; it simply adds: καὶ [πιστεύομεν] εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. But *how*, or in what capacity, is he believed in? we naturally inquire. To this no answer is given; and we are left to gather the views of the Council from other exhibitions of their sentiments on this point than those made in their Symbol. A Unitarian would say, that he believes in the Holy Spirit; an Arian would say the same thing; both construing the words as meaning *divine influence* merely, and not divine hypostasis. The Nicene Symbol, then, does not appear plainly and explicitly to acknowledge, that "there are three persons in one God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;" nor that "these three are one God, the *same in substance*, and *equal in power* and glory?" No; it comes, or seems to come, far short of this. I reject it therefore because I do believe in a Trinity in Unity; because I believe the Bible teaches this doctrine. I reject it for the very reason, that it seems to me to teach a different doctrine from that of the Bible, or at all events to teach such doctrine in an incongruous and imperfect manner.

Nothing can be more natural here than the question: Why should this branch of Christian theology so long have remained in so imperfect and unsatisfactory a state, while most other Christian doctrines have been advancing as to illustration, precise statement, and confirmation?

The answer to this question may not be obvious; at least all my readers may not, perhaps, be satisfied that it is, even if they admit the general correctness of the remarks which I have made above. Several things may however be truly said, in the way of answer.

(1) The civil power of the Roman empire that held the world in subjection, was often employed to defend and establish the Nicene Creed. Constantine followed the refusal to subscribe to it with deposition from ecclesiastical office, and with banishment and exile. Other emperors did the same; as did the Arians, on the other side, when they gained the ascendancy. When the Roman church had finally suppressed the Arian party, by civil and ecclesiastical penalties, the Nicene Creed of course prevailed again. It was the Symbol of the dark ages through, and mostly undiscussed and undisturbed. More illustration, accuracy of definition, and sound confirmation, one could not expect would be added, under such circumstances.

(2) When the era of the Reformation began to dawn, the great controversy between the Romish and the Reformed churches did not turn on the doctrine of the Trinity. Both churches admitted this in common. Discussion on this point, therefore, was considered as in a manner uncalled for and needless; and the minds of the religious public were too intent on other points more immediately involved in the controversy, and too deeply interested in them, to turn aside to matters in which both parties were substantially agreed. Hence the spirit of the Reformation, active, bold, unsparing as it was in respect to superstitions and much of patristical theology and schoolmen's lore, was not employed in making investigations as to the correctness of the Nicene Symbol.

(3) When the writings of Socinus and his coadjutors in Poland were directed against the doctrine of the Trinity, they contained so much that was grossly offensive to those who worshipped God in their Saviour and Redeemer, that a strong and widely diffused prejudice arose in the Christian community against all discussions of this nature, in which the reasoning and philosophy of men were so prone to raise objections and difficulties in the way of the plain and palpable declarations of the Bible. Men became timid in regard to discussing the awful mysteries of the Godhead, because free discussion had been so greatly abused.

(4) Similar causes have continued to prevent free discussion on the part of believers in the Trinity, except in the way of defence against the so-called Unitarians and Arians, or in the way of attack upon them. So long as this was the case, partial views and only such as belonged to the immediate points in controversy, would naturally continue to be taken; and such has been the fact. After some display of arms and preparatory skirmishing, the battle has pretty generally been fought on the ground of patristical opinion. What did the fathers and the ecumenical councils believe and decide? These questions have produced the *History of Early Opinions* and a multitude of other like books, the main object of which is, to take refuge, on one side or the other, under the shield of antiquity. The Bible—the simple, plain, positive, declarations of the Bible—alas! how little have they been consulted by many combatants, except to help out some claudicating position of antiquity.

(5) Other reasons might easily be given why sober, free, extensive, radical investigation with regard to the topic before

us has no oftener been pursued. An excitability in the public mind, brought down by tradition, and continued by sympathy with the disputes of early ages, has had its full share in suppressing free discussion. The proneness of those, who seek for their religious sentiments in symbols and systems sanctioned by time and by numbers, to anathematize all who venture to appeal from them to the Bible alone; the readiness to cry: *Foenus habet in cornu*, or *Hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveo*, whenever one ventures to ask the precise meaning, the *why* and the *wherefore* and the *Scripturality* of received symbols, has appalled many a heart that loved inquiry, and wished to make it, but dare not incur the suspicions that would be raised among the Symbolists. One trembled to risk his eyes, amid the clouds of dust that would be thrown into them. Add to all this, (and perhaps this is one of the most weighty of all the reasons), the reckless and irreverent manner in which the doctrine of the Trinity—a subject which is one of the most solemn and awful that the human mind can be called to contemplate—has often been treated, and is even now treated; and then reckon into the account the proneness to speculate and theorize on this subject, and the extravagancies of many of the real friends of this doctrine; put all these causes together, and the reader may conceive, without any wonder or astonishment, how the doctrine in question has so long continued much in the state that it was centuries ago.

After all, however, we have seen that many of the more distinguished theologians of modern times have silently, unobserved as it were, and perhaps in some cases unconsciously, adopted a mode of stating the doctrine of the Trinity, widely at variance with that of the Nicene Creed. The *numerical unity of substance* they generally admit. Personality or *modus existendi* only, they suppose to be conferred by the Father on the second and third persons of the Godhead; distinctly avowing, that the idea of derived substance is inconsistent with the notion of real Godhead, and inconsistent with the proper unity of the Godhead. But whether any real advance has been made upon the Nicene doctrine by all this, in respect to congruity and even the well-grounded principles of metaphysical philosophy, has already been the subject of inquiry above, and need not be here again investigated.

During the period since the Reformation, there have now and then risen up individuals, who doubted or disputed the doctrine

of the Nicene Creed, and who rejected most of the subtle distinctions adopted by many of the leading orthodox writers, on the ground that they were dark, and difficult, and uninstructional, and above all that they were not made any where by the sacred writers. It were easy to name some of these, eminent for piety and learning. Even in the days of Arminius, the younger Trelcatius ventured in his lecture-room to call in question the doctrine of *derived* divinity. Arminius tells us with what zeal he fought against him; and that Gomer himself attacked him on this point; while still the opinion found so much favour among the Anti-remonstrants, that Trelcatius was never disturbed on account of it. Many a Christian, and preacher too, have doubted, or in their own minds rejected this doctrine, who still have cherished their doubts in silence, because they did not wish to agitate the public mind respecting them.

In New England, in particular, it has been long a predominant opinion among the clergy, that there is something in the doctrine of eternal generation, which is not entitled to their faith, and which indeed is altogether inexplicable. Still, the discussion has not been carried on with any considerable zeal; and we can hardly be said to have more than a kind of *negative* belief on this subject.

Thus much as to the state and condition of the doctrine, in many of the symbols still in use, and among many distinguished theologians. A more interesting question remains. Is this state of things always to continue? Is no investigation—careful, sober, scriptural investigation—which admits neither symbols nor fathers at all into the place of Christ and his Apostles, ever to be made? I hope and trust that the spirit of the Reformation and of Christianity, that the love and honour of the Saviour, that zeal for the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, will forbid that it should not.

If I need any apology for the freedom of the preceding discussions, I have already presented one. My reason for examining and rejecting human creeds which do not admit the *numerical* unity of substance in the Godhead, nor the *equal power and glory* of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is, that such creeds “take away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.” It is not that I am a lower Trinitarian, but because I am a *higher* one, that I reject them. *God over all and blessed forever*, I must believe him to be, “who redeemed me by his

blood." "Blessing and honour and power and glory be his—forever and ever!"

Let me add a word more as to the following Essay of Dr. S., and I have done for the present. His views respecting the opinions of Artemon, Noetus, Praxeas, Beryll, and Sabellius, will be found by the careful and well-informed reader to differ in some respects from those which are presented in the common books on Ecclesiastical History, and in the more usual accounts of the individuals named, in the particular histories of the ancient heresies. That Dr. S. has applied a more sharp-sighted and rigid criticism than usual, to the investigation of the so-called Sabellian opinions, is what I apprehend to be true. His Monogram on this subject, to which his special and most strenuous efforts were directed, seems better adapted, *caeteris paribus*, to the discovery and development of truth in respect to it, than a general history of the church, or a general history of heretics.

At all events, if he has failed in some historical particulars, the views which he every where suggests are worthy of a most attentive perusal and consideration. The gradual development he has made of the Sabellian system, and the comparison of this all along with the opinions of its antagonists, (which were mostly like those that are expressed in the Nicene Creed), is full of instruction. Every man who attentively reads and considers them, must be better prepared to read and judge of the writings of the fathers, in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity as held by them.

I have found the office of a translator an exceedingly difficult one, in the present case. Dr. S. indulges in long sentences and involved constructions; after the manner so common among the recent writers of Germany who are of a philosophical cast. He writes on for several pages, at times, without a single break or paragraph in his discourse. But this is not all the difficulty. His words are so very pregnant with meaning, that in this respect one is reminded of Tacitus; although the construction of his sentences is exceedingly different from that of the Roman historian. He indulges in all the technics of philosophy and theology. He binds his sentences all together, with an *auch* or a *doch*, or a *wenn*, or a *weil*, or some other particle, very much in the manner in which his favourite Plato connects his with an *οὐν*, or a *δέ*, or a *μέν*, or a *μενοῦν*, or a *καὶ δὲ*, and the like. Add to all this, the difficult nature of the subject, the tenuous distinctions which it demands of the writer and reader, and the perplexing

looseness of diction and definition among the fathers whose opinions are examined ; and the translator has no ordinary task before him.

I am not sure that I have in every case hit upon the exact idea of the original. The matter itself is too subtle, and the writer too terse and remote from the common methods of thought and expression, to allow me to be very confident. But I can promise the reader, that I have in no case willingly misrepresented the meaning of the author. I have given a free, in some cases even a paraphrastic, version, because I felt that the matter would not be intelligible to the religious public in general of our country, unless I did so. I am not translating the Scriptures ; and therefore I do not feel the same responsibility of holding fast, as closely as possible, to the exact diction of the original. I have in some cases added an epexegetical clause. Where this is very short, and not of much moment, I have forborne to mark it ; but in other cases of a different nature, I have inclosed my addition in brackets.

As to the Notes ; most of them are quotations from the fathers. These Dr. S. has nowhere translated. I have taken the pains to translate them all, for the aid of the less experienced or young reader ; who will probably thank me for this uninviting yet often thankless labour. I have included the translation in brackets, in order to signify that it does not come from any version by Dr. S. of the original. These translations I have marked with single commas ; in order that they may at once be distinguished by the reader, from the remarks with which I have sometimes accompanied them. All in the notes, not included in brackets, belongs to Dr. Schleiermacher.

If I have failed to render some of the Greek passages quoted so as to do justice to the originals, the reader is at liberty to correct me. I am sure he will find no small difficulty in making intelligible some of the assertions of the fathers on the subject of the Trinity. In some cases I had not the original works quoted at hand, and my circumstances did not permit me to hunt them up. I have used my best endeavours, in order to do justice to the authors without them.

The principal remarks that I have to make on the scheme of doctrine held by Sabellius, or proposed by Dr. S., I have purposely reserved, as before intimated, for a *sequel* to the piece. They will be read with more satisfaction, and be better understood, when the reader shall have before his mind all which the Essay presents.

After all that has been said above of Schleiermacher, it may be presumed that the reader will feel a desire to know something more of a *personal* nature respecting him. It so happens that this natural desire can, in the present case, be in some good measure gratified. From two different sources, we have accounts of the last days of Schleiermacher; and from one of these, brief sketches also of some leading particulars of his biography. These are presented in the account given by Mr. C. H. Stobwasser, a merchant in Berlin, a member of the Moravian church, and a particular and intimate friend of Dr. S. I shall transcribe a part of his account, and abridge some other parts. In addition to this, I shall interweave the account given by the wife of Dr. S., respecting his last hours, which comes through another medium. The first of these I find in the *Messenger*, a paper for the Reformed German Church, printed at York in Pennsylvania, and dated Jan. 15, 1835; the second I take from the Boston Recorder of Dec. 5, 1834. The introductory remarks to the second, I suppose to be from my friend, Prof. E. Robinson, the late editor of the Biblical Repository. Mr. Stobwasser thus commences his account.

“He was born November 21st, 1768, and died February 12th, 1834. On the second of February, at 7 o'clock in the morning, he preached his last sermon. During the two preceding weeks he had suffered from a cough and hoarseness. Many in his situation would have spared themselves; but he thought it impossible, inasmuch as he had undertaken to complete many labours before Easter. Having gone a journey, in the preceding year, to Norway and Denmark, from which he returned only at the end of October, he had commenced his lectures later than usual, and hastened now to finish every thing before the Easter holy-days, which in this year would come very early; and when he was admonished, he referred to the urgency that arose from the shortness of the time. On this morning his wife had provided a carriage for him, and after the sermon sent her daughter to him into the sacristy with a request that he should ride home, as the morning was windy, and he usually perspired much while preaching, and he was moreover hoarse and unwell; but he would not be persuaded to deviate from his custom, and walked home. Many of his friends, among whom was the Counsellor Eichhorn, who could boast of possessing some influence over him, urged him to resign some of his offices. His reply was, “Shall I take my rest? It is what I cannot do.—My lectures are of too much importance with me to be discontinued; more important still is the religious instruction of the youth; and most of all the preaching of the gospel.” The utmost that he

could have been persuaded to relinquish was the Secretaryship in the Academy of Sciences ; and this only to gain time for the preparation of works for the press, and to put the last hand to several things in church history and an exegesis on the Acts of the Apostles, which are left among his papers, and, together with many other treatises, are now to be published by the Rev. Mr. Fonas."

It appears that on the 6th of Feb., he delivered two lectures, and attended a catechising of the youth ; and in the afternoon of the same day, he attended to his duties as Secretary in the Royal Academy at Berlin. He then attended a library meeting, being all the time very hoarse and inclining to chills. From that time his disease assumed an inflammatory aspect, the progress of which could not be stayed, and which in one week's time ended in his death. The news of his dangerous sickness occasioned great agitation and excited much interest in Berlin ; and his house was so thronged with anxious inquirers, that its inmates were obliged to expose a kind of Bulletin of his state, at the door, in order that the house might be freed from noise and commotion.

"On the 11th of Feb.," continues Mr. Stobwasser, "towards evening, he requested his wife to read for him one of the hymns of his dear Baptiste von Albertini. Which of the hymns it was I am not informed. As I went daily to his house after the 9th instant, I was every time requested to put up a fervent prayer that the Lord would grant to him a truly blessed death ; or if his life was preserved, that he would make him a very fervent preacher of the death of Jesus Christ upon the cross, and his meritorious sufferings for us and in our stead, as he had hitherto been a preacher of his glory.

"On the 12th I learned that he had assembled his family around him to bid them adieu. As his wife and family wished to be alone with him, acquaintances were not admitted into his bed-chamber. On receiving this information I took my departure. It was his last hour. I could not but pray for him with tears, that the Saviour might grant to him a very clear and blessed view of his vicarious sufferings."

Then follows an account of his death by Mr. Stobwasser ; which I omit for the sake of inserting a better one from the hand of Dr. S.'s beloved wife. I copy nearly the whole paragraph from the Boston Recorder, because the preface to the account of Mrs. S., is a matter of interest to the reader.

'The death of this distinguished man in February last, after an inflammatory illness of a few days, is very generally known in this country ; and the public have also in general terms been informed of

the triumph of his Christian faith, and of his administration of the Lord's supper upon his dying bed. By the kindness of a friend recently from Germany, we are enabled to lay before our readers the following deeply interesting details of the closing scene, in an extract from a letter of his wife to a female friend. This extract has been widely circulated in Germany in manuscript, but has never, so far as we know, been printed. We read it first with deep emotion; for the whole transaction, and the narration, are worthy of the man, for they are the perfect image of his own simplicity. We give the account to the Christian public as doing honor both to the illustrious dead and to the living writer; and also as the dying testimony of another great and good man to the simplicity and power of the truth as it is in Jesus.

"Once he called me to his bedside and said: 'My dear, I seem to be really in a state which hovers between consciousness and unconsciousness;' (he had taken laudanum, and slumbered a good deal); 'but in my soul I experience the most delightful moments. I must ever be in deep speculations, but they are united with the deepest religious feelings.'

"Once he raised his hand and said with solemnity: 'Here kindle a flame upon the altar!' Another time: 'I leave to my children the charge of the apostle John, Love ye one another!' Again: 'My dear, you will have many painful duties! friends will aid you. I could so gladly have still remained with you and the children!' As I uttered some hope, he replied: 'Do not deceive yourself;' and then with the greatest solemnity: 'My love, there is still much that will be hard to bear.'

"On the last morning, Wednesday, Feb. 12th, his sufferings evidently became greater. He complained of a burning inward heat, and the first and last tone of impatience broke from his lips: 'Ah, Lord, I suffer much!'—The features of death came fully on, the eye was glazed, the death-struggle was over! At this moment, he laid the two fore-fingers upon his left eye, as he often did when in deep thought, and began to speak: 'We have the atoning death of Jesus Christ, his body, and his blood.' During this he had raised himself up, his features began to be re-animated, his voice became clear and strong; he inquired with priestly solemnity: 'Are ye one with me in this faith?' to which we, Lommatzsch* and F.† who were present, and myself, answered with a loud *yes*. 'Then let us receive the Lord's supper! but the sexton is not to be thought of; quick, quick! let no one stumble at the form; I have never held to the dead letter!'

"As soon as the necessary things were brought in by my son-in-law, during which time we had waited with him in solemn stillness,

* Schleiermacher's son-in-law, Professor in Berlin.

† A female friend.

he began,—with features more and more animated, and with an eye to which a strange and indescribable lustre, yea, a higher glow of love with which he looked upon us, had returned,—to pronounce some words of prayer introductory to the solemn rite. Then he gave the bread first to me, then to F., then to Lommatzsch, and lastly to himself, pronouncing aloud to each, the words of institution,*—so loud indeed, that the children and Muhlenfels,† who kneeled listening at the door of the next room, heard them plainly. So also with the wine, to us three first, and then to himself, with the full words of institution to each. Then, with his eyes directed to Lommatzsch, he said: ‘Upon these words of Scripture I stand fast, as I have always taught; they are the foundation of my faith.’ After he had pronounced the blessing, he turned his eye once more full of love on me, and then on each of the others, with the words: ‘In this love and communion, we are and remain ONE.’

“He laid himself back upon his pillow; the animation still rested on his features. After a few minutes he said: “Now I can hold out here no longer,” and then, ‘Lay me in a different posture.’ We laid him on his side,—he breathed a few times,—and life stood still!

“Meanwhile the children had all come in, and kneeled around the bed; his eyes closed gradually. I had several times thought during these moments of deep interest, Had I but the children here!—Still the sublimity of the scene was so great, that I could only wait in solemn stillness, bound motionless to my place as by a spell; yea, even as entranced and incapable of any voluntary exertion.

“How widely does recollection already fall short of the reality of those moments of thrilling agitation!”

‘We learn that the manuscripts of his lectures, and of some other works, on a variety of subjects in his systematic and exegetical theology, and also on dialectics, are left in complete order, so that his posthumous works are expected to appear in eight volumes. The celebrated translation of Plato remains, alas! incomplete.’

Thousands flocked to the house to see his corpse; which, as usual in Germany, was placed between flowers. His death took place on the 12th of February, and his funeral was attended on the 15th. Almost the whole city of Berlin, with its immense population, was in motion on this occasion, and thousands joined the funeral procession. Dr. Strauss, the cathedral preacher and rector of the University, delivered an address on the occasion; and about fifty clergymen were present, among whom were two Roman Catholics. A summary of Dr. Strauss’ sermon is thus given by Stobwasser.

* Our Saviour’s words, Matt. 26, etc. 1 Cor. 11: 23—29.

† Late Professor in the London University.

"The preacher touched upon Schleiermacher's youth and remarked, that the whole tendency in the religious character of the deceased was to be ascribed to the fact, that his first theological education was received in the Brethren's church; 'in that little circle whose light is silently and beneficially diffused through the church of Jesus Christ.' He then adverted to his life and actions, his letters on religion, which arose in their time to shed their beams upon a very dark night. *He it was*, said the speaker, that first again confessed the name of Jesus Christ as the Son of the living God. *His* hearers were chiefly of the cultivated class, and he expounded the gospel to them in a scientific method, suited to their intellectual character. *Thousands were awakened by him and brought to a knowledge of themselves.* He was blamed for not going farther, because many of those, who were originally the fruits of his ministry, turned away from him to other preachers of the gospel; but he seemed to know that the part which the Lord had assigned to him, was to proclaim the gospel to the educated portion of the community. To lead inquirers further, he thought, must be left to the Spirit of God, by the reading of the holy Scriptures and the hearing of the gospel. Finally, the preacher related how the deceased had finished the circuit of his life with the profession, that the blood of Jesus Christ was the ground of his faith and his salvation."

Fifty students of the University were employed as marshalls to preserve the requisite order at his funeral. The catechumens of Dr. S. obtained liberty to walk next to his corpse, as orphans bereaved of their spiritual father. These were followed by his relatives; then the clergy; then other friends; and finally by 130 coaches in mourning, among which were several State coaches of the royal princes.

At the grave, Pischon delivered a brilliant eulogy upon the deceased, as a professor, teacher of religion, and preacher.

The whole account shews both the state of Dr. S's mind in his later and latest hours, and the state of public feeling towards him, which was so universally expressed. Can it be, that a man who lived thus and died thus, was not a disciple of Jesus? The answer to this question we must leave to the great day that will reveal the secrets of all hearts. Whatever Dr. S's speculative errors were, (and I cannot help believing that he did cherish some that in themselves would be dangerous to most minds), yet can we feel that a man who died thus was no believer in the Saviour of sinners? I feel constrained to say, that I mourn his loss to the world as an efficient and powerful writer; but I cannot mourn as one without hope for him. May his er-

rors, whatever they were, be fully developed and shunned ; and may all the truths which he has helped to illustrate and confirm, be universally admitted and felt !

COMPARISON, ETC. BY DR. SCHLEIERMACHER.*

§ 1. *Introduction.*

To the following pages I might have given a more indefinite title, inasmuch as they are not designed fully to treat of the subject announced, but only to compare the relations of certain particulars to each other, that stand connected with what is said in my *Doctrines of the Creed*, or *Doctrines worthy of Belief*, (*Glaubenslehre*, § 190), and near the close of it, respecting the subject of the Trinity. If what is unsatisfactory and obscure in our creeds, with regard to the doctrine of the Trinity, was occasioned by going too far in opposition to Sabellianism, the points of difference and opposition between the two systems must be distinctly understood and duly appreciated, before our Symbols can be safely corrected. It matters not in what way the opposition to Sabellianism originated ; whether it came from apprehending that something in it was false and dangerous which was not so ; or whether, for the expression of what was in itself really contradictory, phrases were laid hold of which signified more than was intended ; still the nature of the whole thing must be rightly understood, before any mistakes can be properly corrected that may have been committed.

My present design is to exhibit only such points as may serve to communicate, if possible, some new impetus to the spirit of investigation. That it is desirable to animate with new life the spirit of historical investigation and of doctrinal reasoning, the entire literature of this department of religious knowledge bears ample testimony.

The Arian creed, in its various ramifications, forms another and different antithesis to the Trinitarian doctrine of our commonly received Symbols. But the mutual relations of these two latter systems have, with great diligence and in a great va-

* Published in the *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 1822, dritt. Heft, p. 295 seq.

riety of ways, been discussed. On the other hand, the relations between Sabellianism and our common Creed have hitherto been but slightly touched, or handled as it were in the gross, without going into any particulars of a nicer kind and more subtle nature. So far as developments of a historical nature merely are concerned, this is indeed to be justified; inasmuch as the Arian doctrines have occasioned much longer and more vehement contests in the church, than the Sabellian. But so far as the simple interests of *doctrinal* truth are concerned, this fact is merely an accidental circumstance; and the things which we ought to believe as the ultimate result of all our inquiries, can be fully developed, only when the Sabellian disagreement with our Symbols shall be as fully disclosed as the Arian has been.

The peculiar character of Christian piety began early to trace back that which appeared to be extraordinary and superhuman in the Saviour, to the divine Being himself, and to express its reverence toward it in poetic effusions of a Christian stamp, and in public addresses to the churches, as well as in apologetic writings. Nor did it confine itself to these; it gave utterance to the same feelings in the language of doctrinal instruction. In this way did Christianity take a middle place between Judaism and Paganism; inasmuch as the multiplication of gods is appropriately Pagan; while the denial of all distinction or difference in the Godhead, and especially of that by which it exists in a peculiar manner in Christ, is of Jewish origin, and is appropriately a Jewish rejection of the Son.

Such a view of the Saviour as divine is developed so frequently in the writings of the fathers since the Council of Nice, that it would be altogether superfluous to prove it here by the citation of particular passages. It is indeed so natural that the Christian church should take such a view, so long as it had Paganism on the one hand and Judaism on the other to contend with, that sentiments of this nature surely must have been much older than the time when the Council of Nice was held. Inasmuch, however, as this belief would appear polytheistic to the Jews, while the Gentiles at the same time would accuse Christians of being impious because they did not admit of manifold divisions or individualities in the divine nature, so was the church exposed to two shoals in the difficult voyage undertaken for the further formation and exhibition of this doctrine, between which it must take its course. On the one hand, it must give such a direction to that distinction of the Godhead which was

appropriately Christian, as that it would by no means dash upon polytheism, but preserve the true characteristics of *μοναρχία* (sole supremacy); while on the other, it must not veer towards Judaism so as to become implicated in it. That which distinctly marked its removal from Judaism, was the Christian *οἰκονομία*. There was, indeed, a considerable width left for sailing between the two shoals; yet the signals on both for keeping aloof brought with them this disadvantage, that when one, directed by his reckoning or by the wind, took his course between them, he seemed to some to be too near one of these signals, while he himself believed that he was only holding a middle course; and yet, after all, he was actually sailing too near the other signal.

Judaism maintained the unity of the supreme Being; but according to this, God in his unity remained in a state of separation from man. He did indeed exhibit himself at times; he made his voice to be heard; and so the giving of the law and prophecy ensued. But his thoughts and his will could thus be made known to men only *from without*, by means of words and laws. The inspiration of the seer was, in earlier times, conversant only with external visions and voices and influences from without. Even had it proceeded purely from an *internal* source, it could not *then* have been looked upon in any other light, than in that of a kind of ephemeral and as it were magical operation. But this imperfection was to be done away. The Most High at length transferred his abode to man, and dwelt *in* him. This was the special object of the Christian dispensation. Real *Christian* faith was fully persuaded that this had been accomplished.

The Greeks had indeed spoken much and often of the divinity, as preparing particular men to become his temple, and of his dwelling in them. But by reason of the diversity of these habitations, the Godhead itself had as it were become divided, and was lowered down to a state of mutability like that of men; and thus the glory which would result from a real and internal union of the divine and human natures, was tarnished by all the abominations of idolatry. The pagan *indwelling* of the divinity was demoniacal, and its season of continuance soon passed away. The Most High, one and undivided, at last took up his abode in man; and the Sole Supreme (*μοναρχία*), by such a union with man, must needs destroy all idolatry.

If now a particular account of such a union of the Jewish, and

simplification of the heathen, systems were to be made out, this might be done in different ways by different persons. One would be more affected with disgust of the Jewish stiffness and the literal interpretation of their sacred books; another with the extravagant and deleterious nature of polytheism: one of course would be more concerned lest he should dash upon the Jewish shoal; and another lest he should run aground upon the Gentile one. By this simple principle, now, may we account for all the various views which stand related to the Trinitarian doctrine of our Symbols, and which have given more or less occasion to its gradual development.

§ 2. *Opinions of Artemon.*

[PRELIMINARY NOTICE. Of Artemon, whose opinions are canvassed in the following section, we know little or nothing that is definite and certain. The ancient ecclesiastical writers differ so much about him, that even his name is not certainly known, some calling him Artemon, and some Artemas; Theod. Haeret. Fab. II. 4. Of his country, his parentage, his place of development, or the circumstances of his life, we are, and it would seem that we must remain, ignorant. The scanty, imperfect, and contradictory opinions which are thrown out in relation to these subjects, may be found, if the reader is prompted by motives of curiosity or of interest to seek for them, in Euseb. Hist. Ecc. V. 28. Theodreti Haeret. Fab. Lib. II. 4. Epiphan. Haeres. LXV. §§ 1, 4. Pamphili Apol. pro Origine, Lib. I. p. 235 in Vol. V. of Hieronym. Opp., edit. Martianay. See also Niceph. Hist. Ecc. Lib. IV. 20. Photii Biblioth. cod. 48. Such are the principal ancient sources. The modern ones worthy of particular consultation, are (most of all) C. W. F. Walch, Historie der Ketzereien I. p. 558 seq.; Lardner's History of Heretics, p. 360 seq. Fabricii Biblioth. Graec. Vol. V. p. 276. P. Schaffhausen, Historia Artemonis et Artemonitarum. Bulli Judic. Ecc. Cathol. p. 27. Scanty and unsatisfactory notices are contained in most of the usual ecclesiastical histories, biographical dictionaries, etc.

In order to supply the reader, however, with adequate means of understanding the various allusions of Dr. S. in the present section, it will be necessary to state in particular some of the things which have been said by the ancient writers respecting

Artemon. Eusebius says (ut supra), that he had in his own possession an anonymous book, the author of which aimed to refute the heresy of Artemon; which heresy maintained that Christ was a mere man. The anonymous author avers, that the adherents to the doctrines of Artemon declare, that all the ancients, and even the apostles themselves, received and taught what they (the disciples of Artemon) received and taught; and that his state of things continued until the time of Victor, the thirteenth bishop of Rome after Peter; but that his successor Zephyrinus first introduced spurious doctrine.

To refute this, Eusebius appeals to the writings of distinguished men in the church, who lived before the time of Victor, and defended the divinity of Christ; and to the fact, that Victor himself expelled Theodotus of Byzantium from the church at Rome, for maintaining that Christ was a mere man. Victor was bishop of Rome ten years, i. e. from A. D. 192 to A. D. 202.

Eusebius also says, that Theodotus was the *first* who asserted that Christ was a mere man; and thus he tacitly intimates, that he preceded Artemon in the heretical opinion ascribed to him. He then cites the anonymous author as declaring, that some disciples of Theodotus had made Natalis a bishop among them; that this bishop subsequently abjured his errors; and that the party to which he had belonged, cultivated science very much, gave themselves to the logical examination of the Scriptures, and were very bold in their emendations and alterations of the sacred books. But whether this is meant of the followers of Artemon, or merely of Theodotus; or whether the anonymous author and Eusebius also both confound the two sects together, cannot well be made out from the obscure narration of Eusebius.

Theodoret (Haeret. Fab. Lib. II. 4.) says of Artemon, that he believed in God the creator of the universe, in the same way as the Christians; but that he asserted the Lord Jesus Christ to be a mere man; born, however, of a virgin, and of a power (*ἀρετῇ*) superior to that of the prophets. Like the anonymous author in Eusebius, he testifies of Artemon, that he maintained the apostolic antiquity of the doctrine which he held. Artemon moreover declared, that ‘those who succeeded the apostles first began *θεολογῆσαι τὸν Χριστόν*, who is not God.’ The reader will have occasion in the sequel to advert to the peculiar phraseology which is here quoted.

On the whole it appears probable, that Artemon lived near the close of the second, or at the beginning of the third century. Caius, a presbyter under Zephyrinus (about A. D. 210), is said by Photius (Biblioth. Cod. 48) to have written a book or books against the heresy of Artemon; which most have taken for the anonymous book quoted by Eusebius, as related above. But as this matter cannot be satisfactorily established, we can only speak of *probabilities*. Eusebius says, that Paul of Samosata, who lived in the latter half of the third century, only *renewed* the heresy of Artemon. It would seem by this, that the opinions of Artemon had been as it were forgotten, before Paul renewed them; and therefore the former must have lived as early as the first part of the third century.

Finally, as to the theological opinions of Artemon, all agree that he denied Christ to be God, i. e. he denied this in the sense in which the orthodox Christians of his day asserted it. But there are many different ways of denying such views as were then held. Accordingly, Pamphilus, Eusebius, and Epiphanius represent Artemon as holding the same sentiments in respect to the divinity of Christ, that Paul of Samosata held; Alexander of Alexandria makes him an Arian; and Theodoret, a Theodotian, Photinian, or Ebionite. Gennadius of Marseilles attaches him to the Praxean or Sabellian party. It will be seen, in the sequel, that Dr. S. agrees with Gennadius; and he has stated reasons for believing, that Artemon has been unjustly associated with Theodotus, either as to opinions or party. It is on the ground which Gennadius takes, that Dr. S. has extended to the opinions of Artemon the comparison which he makes between the Sabellian and Athanasian Creeds.

It does not seem probable, that the party of Artemon was ever considerable, or that it was of long continuance. Philastrius, Epiphanius, and Augustine, give him no express place in their list of heretics. Epiphanius adverts to him merely *en passant*.

As to Theodotus of Byzantium, who is frequently mentioned in the pages that follow, and in connection with Artemon, more that is definite is known of him. Although a *συντεύς* (*shoemaker*, but usually translated *tanner*), he is said by Epiphanius to have had a good acquaintance with learning. It is the general testimony, moreover, of the ancients, that in a time of persecution he abjured the Christian religion; and that, falling into disrepute at Byzantium on account of this, he went to Rome.

There he broached his opinions that Christ was a mere man, or at least that he had not a divine nature, (for it is not certain that he denied his miraculous conception); for which he was expelled from the church by Victor bishop of Rome, (fl. 192—202). Dr. S. seems to regard Theodotus as a man of very little weight or stability; and he is altogether unwilling to associate Artemon with him. He supposes that Theodotus appealed to the opinions of Artemon, in order to procure credit for his own. If this be well founded, it would seem probable that Artemon had lived at Rome, or at least that his party were, or had been, in some consideration and influence there.

The reader who wishes for more minute information respecting Theodotus, is referred to Euseb. Hist. Ecc. V. 28. Theodoret's Haeret. Fab. Lib. II. 5. Philastrius de Haeres. cap. 50. August. de Haeres. cap. 33. Epiphanius, Haeres. L. IV. Also the Appendix to Tertull. de Praescrip. Haeret. Among the modern writers, Walch, Historie der Ketz. I. 548 seq. Lardner, Hist. of Heret. p. 364 seq., particularly the former, may be consulted with satisfaction.

It may not be uninteresting to remark, at the close of this notice, that Samuel Crellius (ob. 1632), the celebrated Unitarian, who wrote a book to explain away the testimony of John respecting the Logos, assumed the fictitious name of *Artemonius* (an Artemonite), in order to avoid the prejudices which the name of *Socinian* would have to encounter. In so doing, Crellius took it for granted that Artemon was of the same sentiment that Theodotus maintained; a position that Dr. S. by no means admits. TR.]

Soon after the Godhead of Christ began in the Christian churches to be presented in a more strictly *doctrinal* shape, Artemon declared himself against it as an *innovation*, out of fear, as it would seem, that it was an approach to polytheistic Paganism. The passage concerning this which Eusebius has quoted from an unknown writer (Hist. Ecc. v. 28), cannot be understood otherwise than as referring to the commencement of a more definite *doctrinal* development.* It would betray such a degree of ignorance and prejudice in Artemon, as the tes-

* That the writer quoted here was the Roman presbyter Caius [see on p. 334 above], I would not positively assert; nor does it appear to me to be satisfactorily determined, that Artemon is to be sought for in Italy rather than elsewhere.

timony of even his adversaries will not allow us to ascribe to him, had he intended to deny that in hymns and hortatory discourses the divinity of Christ had been often and long asserted. But in a strictly *didactic* form, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was probably beginning to appear in apologetic writings and others of a similar nature, at a time near to that in which Artemon lived.

Inasmuch now as this man inclined to the side of cool and deliberate consideration, so it may be naturally supposed, that the views and phraseology in question with respect to the divine nature of Christ, were regarded by him as harmless assertions, so long as they were limited merely to the expression and communication of internal feeling; but when they came to be employed in strictly *didactic* discourse, where exact definitions were to be made out, then he objected to these and the like declarations. In case such didactic assertions had in this way but recently begun to come into use, Artemon could notwithstanding those older expressions in hymns and hortatory discourses, still say, that the practice of declaring Christ to be God had commenced in his time.* Certainly the word *θεολογῆσαι*† which is employed, has reference to a strictly *didactic* use; and it is testified, moreover, in respect to Artemon, that he laid great stress upon *logical* definitions of religious expressions, and on this account he subjected the meaning of passages in the Scriptures to a logical investigation, when a strictly *doctrinal* use was to be made of them.‡

It appears moreover, that as he did not in his School, neglect the knowledge of scientific matters on the one hand, so on the

* Theodoret (Haeret. Fab. II. 4) represents him as merely saying, that this practice had commenced *since apostolic times*.

[† See the manner in which this word is employed by Theodoret, in reference to Artemon, on p. 333 above. *Θεολογέω* properly means, *to act as a θεόλογος*, i. e. to speak of God and divine things; and so Dr. S. would seem to understand it here. But Theodoret affirms that Artemon said, that “after the Apostles’ time some began *θεολογῆσαι χριστὸν, οὐκ ὄντα θεόν*,” which I cannot well interpret except by translating it, *Some began to call Christ God, who is not God*; and in this way the word *θεολογέω* is often employed in the fathers. Tr.]

[‡ It will be seen by this remark, that Dr. S. applies to Artemon and his School, what Eusebius says in a doubtful way, as mentioned on p. 333 above. Tr.]

other he examined in a critical way the text of the Scriptures ; and this, without feeling obliged to follow any particular dogmatic views, i. e. he did this in such a way as to act the part of a mere philologist. We see therefore in his case, that a historical and critical taste, which is so indispensable in theologizing, inclined him to doctrinal doubts of a kind like those which afterwards frequently, and sometimes predominantly, developed themselves. There was this difference, however, between his case and the one last mentioned, viz., that the fear of Jewish superstition was in after times the more common feeling ; while in the case before us, when return to Paganism was yet quite a possible thing, the fear which develops itself is that of exchanging Christianity for heathen polytheism.

Thus constructed and fitted out, the vessel of Artemon sailed, to be sure, sufficiently near to the Jewish coast. Theodoret testifies of him, that he preserved pure and unadulterated the doctrine of *μοναρχία* ; but still in such a way, according to his view, as would infringe upon the Christian economy, *οἰκονομίαν*, [i. e. the doctrines respecting the Godhead which are peculiar to the Gospel.]

I would not venture, however, to assert that Artemon suffered shipwreck as to this part of Christian belief ; for it is only the Nazaraean view of this subject which appropriately constitutes that species of Christianity which returns back to Judaism. Artemon appears to have developed his views respecting the Godhead of the Redeemer, only in such a way as was adapted to express his aversion to every thing, which could in the most distant manner seem to be like polytheism. We may suppose his case to have been such, from the fact that the opinions of Paul of Samosata are sometimes traced back to him ;* and also from the fact that he did, in the most explicit manner, hold to the birth of Christ from a virgin, and that Jesus was not to be placed on a level with the prophets, but above them. Here we have, in the perfect freedom of Jesus' human nature from sin, and in the more elevated measure of influence from the divine Logos, or from the exhibitions of the Spirit in Jesus,† some-

* E. g. in Theodoret, Haeret. Fab. II. 8. Augustin, de Haeres. XLIV.

† Even the sect of *Melchisedeciani* were no more than a shoot from the School of Artemon. What they taught of the relation of Christ to Melchisedek, was only the result of their mode of interpreting the

thing on which true faith in the absolute sufficiency of redemption may at least take hold, although it cannot here find a basis for support which is entirely satisfactory.

But inasmuch as Theodotus of Byzantium is mentioned as sympathizing in belief with Artemon ; and by some, moreover, he is regarded as the teacher of Artemon, while others do not admit that there was any connection between them in the same school or sect ; so, (because this is not the proper place for the investigation of such a point), I must content myself by saying, in order to justify what I have already suggested, that I agree to the latter opinion.* Moreover I do not think that unworthy of credit which is said of Theodotus, viz., that he came to his peculiar views in consequence of making little of denying Christ, which was so characteristic of the Gnostics ; or at least, that he was forced to a public declaration and propagation of his views in regard to Christ, by the infamy which ensued upon his thoughtless step [of renouncing Christianity in the time of persecution].† With this agrees very well the story, that Theodotus, in order to gain credit again as a true confessor, endeavoured to make himself the visible head or leader of a party. The basis of this may be true, although that part of the story which has reference to the chastisement by angels may be false and visionary.‡ Nay, I would even go still further ; I must believe, that through the paucity of historic materials, that has happened which often takes place, viz., a confounding of things together which are diverse ; so that many of the arguments which Epiphanius ascribes to Theodotus, belong rather to Artemon and his School. To the latter only can I ascribe arguments

epistle to the Hebrews, which of course was accommodated to the ground-work of their own system. Their design no doubt was to shew, that their stand-point was purely Christian, and was at a great remove from Judaism.

* Theodoret (ut supra) definitely designates him as the Head of another *φρατρία* (brotherhood).

[† See the account usually given of this, on p. 334 above. Tr.]

[‡ The anonymous author whom Eusebius quotes (see p. 333 above), mentions that Natalis, the chosen bishop of the Theodotians, was chastised by angels for his presumption in accepting office conferred by such a party ; and that he was thus brought to repentance ; and moreover, that he shewed the marks of the blows to the bishop of Rome, in order to move him to forgiveness. Eusebius does not say whether he himself gives any credit to this or not. Tr.]

of a critical and logical character; and to him should I assign the learned scholars whose names are worth preserving, rather than to the frivolous *σκυτεύς* (*cobler or shoemaker*) of Byzantium.

If now we make proper distinctions among the dissimilar elements which are so variously treated by ancient historians, we may find, in those early times, a phenomenon which has often been repeated in the church. Artemon is a leader of those, in whom a deeply-rooted earnestness produces efforts to check all harsh and easily perverted expressions respecting what is of a wonderful nature in our creed, and to keep such expressions away from the region of *scientific* theology; and of course of those whose favourite object it is, to introduce and render current the more moderate kind of expressions respecting such subjects.

To such views of the importance of moderate and limited expressions, does the unreflecting spirit of skepticism in many easily attach itself; for they are ready to admit nothing but what is the merest and most common matter of fact, and nowhere do they manifest any desire for what belongs to the wonderful, nor appear to possess any capacity to relish it. It is a favourite contrivance of this class of persons, to lean on such or such a prop, and to represent themselves as belonging to this or that party. Such people, in my opinion, have in Theodotus a leader; and it usually happens to them, as it did to him; for he came by such pretences to be so confounded with Artemon, that to the latter was ascribed the blame which belonged to the former; while on the other hand, Theodotus took on himself a part of the merit which could properly be ascribed only to Artemon.

§ 3. Creed of Praxeas.

[INTRODUCTION. Of Praxeas we find little that is of a personal nature in the ancient ecclesiastical writers. Tertullian says that he was of Asia: *Ex Asia hoc genus perversitatis intulit homo*; cont. Prax. cap. 1. The story among the ancients concerning him was, that he had been thrown into prison on account of his stedfast adherence to the Christian faith; and that this circumstance greatly added to the credit which he had among the churches.

The time in which he made his appearance at Rome, was probably when Victor was bishop there (A. D. 192—202).

Praxeas persuaded this bishop to renounce his partiality for the Montanists ; which circumstance seems to have given much sharpness to the edge of Tertullian's opposition against him. Philaster and Augustine say, that Praxeas lived in Africa ; and the probability is, that he went from Rome to Africa, and most likely to Carthage, where Tertullian became acquainted with him.

A report also prevailed among the ancient Christians, that Praxeas was there induced by some one, probably by Tertullian, to recant all of his errors. To this recantation (if he made it) he does not seem to have adhered ; for he afterwards maintained his opinions with great zeal, and made many converts in Africa.

Of his subsequent history we know nothing certain. Later report says, that he was excommunicated for heresy by a council of African bishops ; but this needs confirmation.

The amount of his sentiment respecting the Trinity appears to be, that he was a *modalist* in his views ; i. e. he regarded Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as only designations of the different *modes* in which the same God disclosed or revealed himself to men. But as his sentiments are so amply discussed by Dr. S. in the sequel, more need not be here said.

The reader who wishes to trace out all of importance that has been said concerning Praxeas, may consult for ancient views, Tertullian, *Contra Prax.* ; Philastrius, *de Haeres.* cap. 41. Optatus of Milan, *Lib. I.* p. 10. *IV.* p. 128. *Praedest.* cap. 41. Neither Irenaeus, nor Clement, nor Cyril, nor Epiphanius, nor Theodoret, nor Eusebius, mention him ; and Philaster and Augustine only *obiter*.

For modern views, he may consult Walch, *B. I.* Lardner, p. 407 seq. Tillemont, *Memoirs*, etc. *Tom. III.* p. 74, 618. Ittig., *de Haeresiarch.* § 2. c. 16. *Tr.*]

If now the opinions of Artemon are not to be regarded as altogether inconsistent with Christianity, yet it is certain, that if true Christian belief may consist with those forms of expression used by him, they are still not to be regarded as the proper supporters and guides of it. Hence it was natural for Christians, who wished indeed (like him) to shun every approach to polytheism on the one hand, still, on the other, to be desirous of choosing expressions even for strictly didactic purposes, which were stronger than mere negatives could be for designating the

higher nature of the Redeemer, and which would exhibit a more firmly grounded justification of the honours paid to him by the church.

This did Praxeas and Noetus; who, more independent probably of each other than Artemon and Theodotus, did still harmonize more exactly in sentiment and purpose. In order to avoid all semblance of approach to polytheism, (which it is difficult to do while the formula $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \epsilon\kappa \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ is employed), they chose rather to acknowledge no difference between the divine Being in the Redeemer and in the Father.

We can trace indeed, in history, no connection of Artemon and Theodotus with Noetus; nor even with Praxeas, except in the way of inference. But although no historical clue is *apparent*, it is still not the less certain, that the latter were opposed to the former, and that the modes of expression employed by Noetus and Praxeas must have been designedly *antithetic* to those of Theodotus and Artemon, although we are now unable to shew that the sects of the latter existed in the countries to which Noetus and Praxeas belonged. In respect to Praxeas we know, that without any accusation of heresy, or rather with the unspotted reputation of a confessor, he came to Rome at the time when Victor was bishop, who had expelled Theodotus from the communion of the church. Since now the assertions which Tertullian accuses Praxeas of making are adapted to shun all appearance of polytheism, without abridging any thing of the divinity of the Redeemer; so is it altogether probable, that they are to be regarded as antithetic to those of Theodotus. If they had not some such object in view as that of making out a substantial contradiction of opinions already condemned, but had been employed simply and without any special cause to call them forth, they would almost inevitably have excited unfavourable notice at Rome, on account of the dissimilarity between them and the customary modes of expression. That Praxeas did receive the favourable attention already mentioned, we have good ground for believing; because we should certainly have found some notices of the fact, if he had been condemned in Rome, or a Synod had been convoked in Africa, in order to condemn him.* That this tol-

* When Philastrius (de Haeres.) says concerning the followers of Praxeas, (and without any good reason respecting the followers of Hermogenes): *Qui et ita* (i. e. in the same manner as the Sabellians)

eration towards him was still exercised, even after Tertullian had poured forth his invectives, must not be ascribed to the Montanism of Tertullian, which was afterward so much disliked at Rome. For at that time Montanism was so little disliked in that city, that, at least as Tertullian believed, nothing but the influence of Praxeas hindered its being approved and formally acknowledged.

Thus much may we admit respecting the historical connection of Praxeas with Theodotus. His doctrinal opinions, however, we can learn only from the attacks made upon him by Tertullian. In representing these we may suppose that Tertullian takes as many liberties, as advocates for one side are wont to take in respect to their antagonist. Yet no one ought to conclude, that all is perverted which Tertullian alleges in order to put to shame the enemy of Montanism. Essentially the opinion of Praxeas appears to have been, that, in case one did not allow himself to detract from the divine nature of the Redeemer, nor deny nor abridge it, he could consistently maintain the unity of the Godhead, only by not separating the divine in the Redeemer from that of the Father, and by not representing it as *subordinate*, but by explaining it as one and the same. According to this view, we may regard the expression, *duos unum volunt esse*,* as an appropriate phrase of Praxeas and of his party. Yet one must be well on his guard, so as not to confound the expressions which Tertullian employs in describing the opinions of his antagonist, with the expressions of Praxeas himself. This applies to the first leading passage which is quoted as the sentiment of Praxeas;† for, as is elsewhere abundantly manifest, Praxeas did, in conformity no doubt with the usage of the New Testament, employ the term *Son*, not to designate the *divine* nature which dwelt in the Re-

sentientes, abjecti sunt ab ecclesia catholica, this must be understood as only an expression of the later opinion that prevailed respecting the Praxeans.

* Tertull. adv. Praxeam, 5.

† *Perversitas . . . quae se existimat meram veritatem possidere, deum unicum non alias putat credendum, quam si ipsum eundemque et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum dicat*; adv. Prax. c. 2. ['Perverseness . . . which thinks itself to be in possession of simple truth, and supposes that God cannot be believed in as one God only, otherwise than by asserting Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be one and the same.']

deemer, but for *the human nature as united with the divine*.* In accordance with this sentiment, therefore, he could not well affirm that the Father and the Son are one and the same.

Whether, moreover, Praxeas ever affirmed that in the composite name *Jesus Christ*, Jesus designated the *human*, and Christ the *divine* nature, so that Tertullian could correctly say that he made Christ and the Father one and the same, I would not venture to assert.† But if he did make such a distinction in the person of the Redeemer,‡ it is much more likely that he gave the name *Jesus* to the human nature, than that he gave the name *Christ* to the divine nature united with the human. This latter is quite improbable; inasmuch as Christ is too plainly declared in the Scriptures to have been crucified. Since now the whole argumentation respecting the use of the expression *Son of God*, rests upon the fact that only the human nature could be born; so the appellation *Christ* could not possibly have been applied by Praxeas to designate the divine nature in the Son, because it is so plainly said that Christ was crucified.

Still more certain is it, on the same grounds, and from the manner in which Praxeas separates between the Father and Son, that he never could have used the expression, ‘The Father was born, and suffered, and was crucified.’ He may have said: ‘The Father descended into the Virgin;§ but he

* Cont. Prax. c. 27, Ut aequè in una persona utrumque distinguant [i. e. they, the party of Praxeas] Patrem et Filium, dicentes Filium *carnem esse*, i. e. hominem, i. e. Jesum; Patrem autem Spiritum, i. e. Deum, i. e. Christum. And in the same section: Qui Filium Dei *carnem* interpretaris; with reference to a preceding passage. Again, in the preceding part of the same section: Ecce, inquit, ab angelo prædicatum est, propterea quod nascetur Sanctum vocabitur Filius Dei. Caro itaque (it should be *utique*) nata est; caro itaque erit Filius Dei. [‘In like manner they distinguish, as really as we, Father and Son in one person; saying, that the Son is flesh, i. e. man, i. e. Jesus; but that the Father is Spirit, i. e. God, i. e. Christ. . . . You who interpret Son of God as meaning *flesh*. . . . Behold, say they, it was declared by the angel, Therefore that Holy [Child] which will be born, shall be called the *Son of God*. Flesh surely it was, which was born; consequently the Son of God must be flesh.’]

† Itaque Christum facis Patrem; cap. 28.

‡ Si enim alius est Jesus, alius Christus; cap. 27.

§ Ipsum dicit Patrem descendisse in virginem; cap. 1.

could never have proceeded to say: 'The Father was born of her, and suffered.' I the more believe this, because Tertullian makes the accusation only in the way of a sally of wit,* and it must be a mere erroneous deduction from the declarations of Praxeas. For according to Praxeas, the Father never became, as God, properly *united with* the human nature of Jesus; although his *dwelling in* the man Jesus made him the *Christ*. Consequently he could never, according to Praxeas, have suffered in Jesus.

In like manner I doubt, although Tertullian charges him with it, whether Praxeas asserts the identity of the Spirit with the Father and Son. In the whole book of Tertullian against Praxeas, very little occurs in regard to any declarations of Praxeas respecting the Spirit.† Yet Tertullian, as a Montanist, had a special interest to make objections of this nature, if matter for them had been found;‡ and considering his rhetorical

* Ita duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romae procuravit . . . Paracletam fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit; cap. 1. ['So Praxeas accomplished the devil's business in two respects, at Rome. . . He drove away the Comforter, and crucified the Father.'—In saying that he drove away the *Paraclete*, Tertullian refers to the fact, that Praxeas persuaded the bishop of Rome to abandon the cause of the Montanists, of which Tertullian was a warm supporter, and which the bishop, before the visit of Praxeas was made to Rome, had regarded with a favourable eye. As Montanism consisted principally in extravagant positions concerning the extraordinary operations of the Spirit, Tertullian accuses Praxeas of *driving away the Spirit*, and so of accomplishing the business of Satan. TR.]

† The passage near the close of cap. 27: *Sed spiritum Patrem ipsum vis haberi, quia Deus spiritus*, can be interpreted as having respect to the Holy Ghost only through an erroneous view of its proper meaning. [*Spiritum* in this case means a *spiritual nature*]. The view of Praxeas, [on which Tertullian comments in so severe a manner], was merely, that there was a *twofold* nature in the Redeemer, one part of which might be designated by *κατὰ σάρκα*, the other by *κατὰ πνεῦμα*. That in other places Tertullian has assigned more significance to *πνεῦμα* than Praxeas did, appears evident to me from the manner of his expression, after he [Tertullian] had been endeavouring to shew that the way in which he himself supposed the Son to exist, was not at all at variance with the *μοναρχία* of the Godhead; for he merely adds: *Hoc mihi et in tertium Gradum dictum sit*.

[‡ The reason of this is, that the peculiar views of the Montanists had respect almost entirely to the extraordinary operations and devel-

turn of mind, and his method of handling passages of Scripture, we cannot well suppose that he would have omitted to notice, in his own peculiar way, any assertions of this kind in the works of Praxeas. Yea, I might venture to say, that the sally of wit, which I have quoted above, and which stands in the introductory part of Tertullian's remarks, would have been otherwise modelled and expressed, in case Praxeas had taught any thing very peculiar respecting the Spirit.

If there be any good foundation for these remarks, then do they constitute another reason for believing, that the doctrine of Praxeas was not something formed independently and by itself, but that it was formed in the way of opposition to the views of the Ebionites. Or, if one chooses, he may state the subject thus, viz., that in the country where Praxeas lived, much question had not yet been made concerning the doctrine of the Spirit; and the considering of the same as *person* (hypostasis), had not yet seemed to threaten the doctrine of *μοναρχία* (sole supremacy). In this way we may come substantially to the same conclusion as before. In fact, we may well imagine the possibility, that, so long as the doctrine of the Trinity was not yet fully unfolded in a didactic way, one might teach as Praxeas did, in order fully to vindicate divine honours to the Redeemer; and yet if the Spirit, as the source of all Christian graces and gifts, had been represented as a hypostasis, a kind of *subordination-theory* respecting him would have been more easily admitted than respecting the Redeemer.

If Praxeas, moreover, had no urgent call fully and definitely to declare himself respecting the Spirit, then he had no occasion to advance beyond the duality of Father and Son; and it was therefore the more natural for him to view the Father and *Ἀυτόθεος* [God in and of himself, God self-existent], as altogether one and the same. He may then have used as equivalent the two phrases: 'The divine nature in Christ is *αὐτόθεος*,'* and 'The Father went out of himself;' as Tertullian makes him paraphrase John 13: 1.† Yet it cannot be very

opments of the Holy Spirit; so that Tertullian, being a friend of the Montanists, had a particular sensibility on this subject. TR.]

* Ipse-Deus, Deus omnipotens, Jesus Christus praedicatus; cap. 1. ['Jesus Christ is called *αὐτόθεος*, the omnipotent God.']

† Praxeas vult ipsum Patrem de semetipso exiisse, et ad semet ipsum abiisse; cap. 23. ['Praxeas would have it, that the Father came out of himself, and then departed to himself.']

probable that he used the expression, 'the Father went out of himself,' since he urges so often and strenuously, that the Father is in the Redeemer.* Rather may we suppose him to have said: 'The Father came *into* the flesh,' than that 'he went *out* of himself.'

Praxeas, as it would seem, found no occasion of distinguishing between God as he is in himself (*αὐτόθεος*), the simple divine Unity, and the Father who is one of the Trinity of persons. This state of things might have given occasion to one of the errors respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, which I have found fault with as exhibited in our ecclesiastical Symbols;† only one may say, with a good degree of probability, that if an insight into the nature of the divine Spirit had been further developed in the School of Praxeas, and had the necessity become apparent of placing him in the same rank with the Saviour, then two different ways of doing this would have disclosed themselves. The one was, to regard the Father and the *αὐτόθεος* as ever being and remaining one and the same, and to speak of them as such; and then there would be but one divine Being, strictly considered, with two *Phases* of himself, but no real Trinity. In the other way, the various relations of man to God might be compared with the like ones to the Redeemer and Spirit, in order to establish the position of a similarity of nature between these three divine persons. Even then, the Old and New Testament dispensations must be more thoroughly distinguished and separated than they usually had been, (because to insist much on this distinction had been deemed to savour of Gnosticism), in order to come to the conclusion that the Spirit must be referred to a third *ἁάς*. By making in this way the Father, Son,

* Nam sicut in veteribus, nihil aliud tenent quam *Ego Deus, et alius præter me non est*; ita in evangelio responsionem Domini ad Philippum tuentur, *Ego et Pater unum sumus*; et qui me videt, videt et Patrem; et, *Ego in Patre, et Pater in me*. His tribus capitulis totum instrumentum utriusque Testamenti volunt cedere; cap. 20. ['As in respect to the ancient dispensation, they hold to nothing else but *I am God, and there is none other besides me*; so in respect to the gospel, they defend the response of the Lord to Philip, *I and the Father are one; he who seeth me, seeth also the Father*; and again, *I am in the Father, and the Father in me*. To these three summaries of doctrine, they would that the whole of both the Old and New Testament should give place.']

† Glaubenslehre, II. p. 704.

and Spirit coordinate, they might then be distinguished from the absolute Unity of the divine Being more definitely than they had been by Praxeas.

We are unable in a definite way to gather any thing from Tertullian, which serves to cast more light upon the main positions of Praxeas. But this circumstance gives us no liberty to raise any serious objection against the latter; for the probability is, that Praxeas did no further unfold his views than as they appear in Tertullian, and that he contented himself with presenting merely the main points of his doctrine. And as to these, it would be natural for him to go only so far as might serve to satisfy the exigency of the occasion, as judged of by him. This exigency was, in his view, so to maintain the unity of the divine Being as not in any way to detract from the glory of the Redeemer. That Praxeas effected his purpose, or reached this point, even Tertullian himself testifies; although he makes the suggestion, that the same point might just as well have been reached in the way which he himself had chosen.* In respect to his doing full honour to the Redeemer, Tertullian says nothing very explicit of Praxeas; but he accuses him of infringing upon the divine economy of the gospel, by excessive partiality for the doctrine of divine unity.† He even entirely over-

* Quasi non sic quoque unus sit omnia, dum ex uno omnia, per substantiae scilicet unitatem; et nihilominus custodiatur *οἰκονομία* sacramentum; cap. 2. ['Just as if all were not one in this way, whilst all proceed from one, viz., [one] by unity of substance, and yet the mysterious peculiarity of the gospel-dispensation is not given up.'—This sentence of Tertullian develops the common, I believe I might almost say the universal, idea of the orthodox fathers, respecting the unity of Christ and the Spirit with the Godhead. It was unity, because the substance of the latter was derived from the Father, and was therefore homogeneous with his. A specific Unity, therefore, i. e. a nature common to each person, is intended to be marked out by such descriptions, and not a simple numerical unity; as we have already seen in p. 293 seq.—The *οἰκονομία* sacramentum here means, the distinctions or personality in the Godhead peculiarly revealed by the *οἰκονομία* or new dispensation. Tertullian designs to assert, that the distinctions may, in his way of explanation, be regarded as perfectly well preserved. This is true enough; but whether a real *unity* was in this way preserved, is a question that admits of much more doubt than Tertullian seems to have entertained. TR.]

† Eundem Patrem et Filium et Spiritum contendunt, adversus *οἰκονομίαν* Monarchiae adulantes. ['They (the party of Praxeas) con-

looks the principal object of Praxeas, viz., that of maintaining the *divine* honour due to the Redeemer, and accuses him of *Judaizing* ;* and nothing worse than this could well be said of even Artemon or Theodotus.

In this way of dealing, the person who demands the strongest expressions to designate that which is divine in the Redeemer, is likened to him who will allow of only the weakest ones. In this way the very important difference between these two classes of men is abridged as much as possible ; and thus Theodotus, who expressed himself so doubtfully respecting the pre-eminence of the Redeemer, is elevated as it were to a place with Tertullian and Praxeas, who both strenuously contend for the divine pre-eminence of the Saviour, although the first admits a two fold nature in the divine Being, while the other does not.† Of Praxeas it may be said, that he made near approaches to Sabellianism ; of Tertullian, that he came near to our ecclesiastical Symbols.

If now one will diligently compare the outlines of Praxeas' views, as they are presented in the pages of Tertullian, he will not be able to deny that the doctrine of Praxeas contains a simple and definitive assertion or declaration respecting the union of the divine Being with Jesus' human nature ; while, at the same time, Praxeas does not undertake in any way to

tend that Father and Son and Spirit are the same ; thus shewing their partiality for sole Supremacy in opposition to the economy of the gospel.']

* *Ceterum Judaicae fidei ista res est, sic unum Deum credere, ut Filium adnumerare ei nolis ; et post Filium, Spiritum ; cap. 31.* [‘But this is a Jewish faith, so to believe in one God, that you are unwilling to comprise the Son with him, and after the Son, also the Spirit.’]

† Further can no one carry this matter, than does Tertullian at the close of his Tract against Praxeas : *Viderint igitur antichristi, qui negant Patrem et Filium. Negant enim . . . dando illis quae non sunt, auferendo quae sunt. . . . Qui Filium non habet, nec vitam habet. Non habet autem Filium, qui eam alium quam Filium credit.* [‘Let the anti-christs look well to it, then, who deny the Father and the Son. For they do deny . . . by attributing to them those things which do not belong to them, and by taking away those things which do belong to them. . . . He who has not the Son, has not life. But he has not the Son, who believes him to be something different from the Son.’]

modify his views respecting the divine Being, so as to regard him in one way when united with Jesus, and in another way when he is not. Praxeas seems to view him simply as he is in himself considered. We may indeed say, that he expressly declines making any distinctions. To maintain the union of the divine nature with Jesus and its existence in him, was undertaken by Praxeas in order to oppose the Ebionitish heresy, and every thing which approximated towards it; while the omission to make any distinction in the divine Nature, was designedly opposed to all those, who, although they entirely renounced the opinions of Ebion, yet would be inclined by their views, as he supposed, toward a species of Gentile polytheism.

The next thing which Praxeas would have had to do, had he proceeded to the further formation of his creed, would have been more exactly to distinguish how we are to conceive of the divine Being, as existing in union with a particular Being [Jesus], and as universally present and existing every where. Such a distinction the wants of Christians as to doctrinal instruction seem to have called for; and to the making of it Praxeas would no doubt have been called, if the partizans of Artemon and Theodotus had entered into and carried on a contest with him. It would have been very natural to object against them, that they knew not how to make any such distinction. But it would seem that Praxeas had no special call to develope his views, on this point; and therefore his opinions, and those of his disciples (if he had any), seem, in regard to this particular, never to have been made out, or at least not to have been exhibited.

On the other hand, the views of Tertullian were more fully disclosed. He every where brings in the *Spirit* as a subject of his consideration; respecting which, so far as Praxeas is concerned, we must remain in doubt. Nor can one boast that even Tertullian would have expressed himself so definitely, unless he had been called out as it were to make use of *negative* expressions, in order to clear himself from all suspicion of leaning toward polytheism, so long as he admitted that there are distinctions in the Godhead. To maintain the *unity* of the Godhead, was the more a work of urgency in his case, inasmuch as he had always been a vehement opposer of the Gnostics; who, in the sense above represented, went over to a kind of Hellenism, [i. e. polytheism]. Where however it is not Tertullian's main business to ward off suspicion, but only to

make direct and positive representations, there it of course becomes a matter of more difficulty to designate the distinctions in the Godhead ; for this must be done with the most careful foresight in the weighing of expressions. Hence it comes, that on such occasions Tertullian expresses himself in a dubious and indefinite manner.* Moreover in representations of this kind, it is very natural that tropical expressions should be frequently resorted to ; but in order to do this with any success, one must have a tact for rightly comprehending the force of them ;† and even then, for the most part, peculiar cautions are needed in order to avoid their being exposed to misinterpretation.‡ Hence it is no wonder, that in different passages the defining and lim-

* For example : *Οἰκονομία* . . . quae Unitatem in Trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens ; cap. 2.—Unitas ex semet ipsa derivans Trinitatem ; cap. 3.—Ut invisibilem Patrem intelligamus pro plenitudine majestatis, visibilem vero Filium agnoscamus pro modulo derivationis ; cap. 14.—Qua Pater et Filius duo, et hoc non ex separatione substantiae sed ex dispositione ; cum individuum et inseparatum Filium a Patre pronunciamus ; cap. 19. [‘The economy . . . which arranges a Unity in Trinity, marking out or designating three.—The Unity deriving a Trinity from itself.—That we may conceive of the invisible Father, according to the plenitude of his majesty ; but of the visible Son, according to the limitations prescribed by his derivation.—On account of which the Father and Son are two ; and this, not by separation of substance, but by arrangement of it, inasmuch as we assert that the Son is not divided or separated from the Father.’]

† As an example of tropical expressions the following passage may be cited : Protulit enim Deus Sermonem, sicut radix fruticem, et fons fluvium, et sol radium. Nam et istae species *probolae* sunt earum substantiarum ex quibus prodeunt ; cap. 8. [‘For God produced the Word, as the root does the fruit, and the fountain the stream, and the sun the rays of light. For the specimens now mentioned are the offspring of those substances from which they proceed.’—The reader should take notice that every where the idea of *derivation* as to the *divine* nature of the Logos, is held fast by Tertullian, as well as by most of the later fathers. Tr.]

‡ For an example [how things may be said on this subject, which may easily be misinterpreted], take the following : Omne quod prodit ex aliquo, secundum sit ejus necesse est de quo prodit ; non ideo tamen est separatum. [‘Every thing which is derived from another, must necessarily be *second* to that from which it is derived ; however, it is not on account of this to be regarded as a separate thing.’]

iting expressions of Tertullian, are subversive of one another.* Besides this, the relation of the Trinity to Unity cannot be maintained, if at one time [as in Tertullian] all three persons are derived from the one God, and at another the second and third persons are derived from the Father.† Nor can the relation of the Father to the Son be maintained, if at one time entire similitude is insisted on, and at another dissimilitude is conceded or taken for granted.‡

This last idea, indeed, lies so deep in the whole views and representations of Tertullian, that it every where, unconsciously as it were, but still in a very marked manner, developes it-

* For example: Numerum sine divisione patiuntur; cap. 2.—Pater enim tota substantia est; Filius, vero, derivatio totius et portio; cap. 9. [‘They (the persons of the Trinity) are the subjects of number, but not of division.—For the Father is the whole substance; the Son, the derivation and apportionment of the whole.’]

† Unus Deus, ex quo et gradus isti et formae et species, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti deputantur; cap. 2. Compare this now with the following: Ita Trinitas per consortos et connexos gradus a Patre decurrens, et monarchiae nihil obstrepit, et οἰκονομίας statum protegit; cap. 8. In this passage, the Father corresponds to the sun, and light and heat to the Son and Spirit. [‘One God, from whom all those gradations and forms and species are reckoned, by the name of Father and Son and Spirit.—Thus the Trinity, by implicated and connected gradations proceeding from the Father, casts no reproach upon the μοναρχία, and at the same time defends the constitution of the οἰκονομία.’—In the first passage the three persons are represented as coming from the one God; in the second, the Trinity is presented as a Patre decurrens.]

‡ Unius substantiae, unius status, et unius potestatis; cap. 2. Compare with this the following: Sic et Pater alius a Filio, dum Filio major; cap. 9. Also with this: Tamen alium dicam oportet, ex necessitate sensus, eum qui jubet et eum qui facit, cap. 12; and moreover with this: Unum dicit quod pertinet ad unitatem, ad similitudinem, ad conjunctionem, ad dilectionem Patris, et ad obsequium Filii . . . et ita per opera intelligimus unum esse Patrem et Filium, cap. 22. [‘Of one substance, one state, and one power.—So the Father is another or different from the Son, since he is greater than the Son.—Yet from the necessity of the sense, he who gives orders must be different from him who executes them.—Oneness means that which pertains to unity, to similitude, to conjunction, to the love of the Father and obedience of the Son . . . and thus by their works we understand that the Father and Son are one.’]

self. For if the Father was originally sole and by himself, and had the Logos only *in* him;* and the Logos himself first attained to full and complete existence when he came forth out of the Father;† how could he then be *altogether like* to him from whom he came forth? Or how could the Son say: ‘ALL which the Father hath is mine,’ when *eternity* was not his? How I say could one be consistent in believing these latter assertions, and still persevering to maintain, that while the Logos was in God, he had not yet his appropriate existence? Or how can one maintain the *immutability* of the Logos, if he holds to his passing out of that state in which he was ἐνδιὰ θε-τος in God, and his coming into a state of separate and hypos- tatic existence? Or if we are to make distinctions so nice respecting the Godhead of the Son, that in and by himself considered we may give the name *God* to him, but when we compare the Son with the Father we must then call the former nothing more than *Lord*;‡ how then is a *perfect similitude* between the two to be made out?

[* Ante omnia enim Deus erat solus. . . . Caeterum ne quidem solus; habebat enim secum, quam habebat in semetipso, rationem suam scilicet. . . . Hanc Graeci λόγον dicunt. ‘Before creation, God was alone. . . . Yet not alone, indeed, for he had with him that which he had in him, viz., his reason. . . . which the Greeks name Logos.’ Dr. S. has omitted to cite this. TR.]

† Tunc . . . Sermo speciem et ornatum suum sumit . . . cum dicit Deus: *Fiat lux*. Haec est nativitas perfecta Sermonis, dum ex Deo procedit. In the sequel he appeals to the following passage of Scripture in order to prove such a derivation of the Logos from the Father, viz., *Eructavit cor meum Sermonem optimum*, (Ps. 45: 1). [‘Then the Word assumes his form and beauty . . . when God says: *Let there be light*. This is the perfect nativity of the Word, when he proceeds from God.—My heart eructates the Word who is most excellent.’ These almost grossly offensive views harmonize very exactly with those of Justin Martyr, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Athenagoras, and Hippolytus. TR.]

[‡ The whole strain of Tertullian’s reasoning, in cap. 13, is to establish the propriety of making such a distinction as to appellations. He says that we are justified in so doing by the fact, that we may call the light of the sun by the name of *sun*, when the light is considered in and by itself; but when the sun itself is also mentioned, it would not be proper to give to his light the same name. TR.]

We may readily say then, in respect to Tertullian, that in developing his positive views of the doctrine of the Trinity, notwithstanding all his zeal against Gnosticism, his *probolae* [emanations] *Gnosticize*; and in his representations of the Logos, as existing indeed before all things, but (in order to create all things) as first coming forth substantially out of God, he *Arianizes*. Moreover his *ante omnia enim Deus erat solus* (cap. 5), agrees very exactly with the ἡν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν of Arius, respecting the Logos.

Finally, that these are not matters of mere oversight in debate, nor such departures from consistency merely the result of other errors of Tertullian, but that they are almost necessarily connected with the undertaking of Tertullian to make out some definite distinctions in the divine Being, in opposition to the simple phraseology of Praxeas—all this will be made apparent in the sequel, when we come to consider the relative opposition between the views of Noetus and Hippolytus.

ARTICLE II.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN MASSACHU- SETTS.

By the Editor.

In a late number of a most respectable foreign publication, we find the following paragraphs: "It is often asked in England, both within and without the established church, What is the relation of Christianity to civil government in the United States of America, and how does the system practically work? These inquiries are of considerable moment, as connected with the important question of national church establishments. It is urged by the opposers of established churches, that in the United States of America the experiment of doing without them has been tried, and has succeeded. It is replied by the friends of national religious establishments, that the experiment has not yet been fully tried; for that the United States still retain much of the beneficial influence of the arrangements, which existed

before the Revolution ; and that there is under the present plan, a lamentable inadequacy of religious ordinances to the wants of the people, which of itself shows the need of a national church establishment. It is not, indeed, generally known in England what are the real facts of the case, as was lately seen in the discussions on the Jewish Disabilities Bill, during which the example of the United States was appealed to as that of a truly wise and virtuous nation, in which not only is there no established church, but no national recognition of religion whatever, so that a Jew stands in every respect upon precisely the same footing as a Christian."

"Believing as we do that a national church establishment is, under the blessing of God, an instrument of incalculable benefit to a land, we think that the United States have ventured upon a most dangerous experiment, and we do not consider it possible, without an especial miracle, which we are not authorized to expect, that the spiritual wants of a people can be supplied, and a system of religious instruction be perpetuated under the present arrangements. At the same time it is not just to overlook the measure of religious legislation, which is still permitted, either federally, or in individual States ; and we firmly believe that it is chiefly to the presence of even these partial recognitions, and certainly not to the absence of more direct sanction, that the American Union is indebted for whatever is most hopeful in her religious condition." "We do not defend America ; we think her quite wrong, and we believe that ultimately she will either be obliged to alter her course, or that infidelity will work her ruin."*

It is in view of considerations similar to those adverted to in the preceding quotations, that we have been induced to investigate the subject, the title of which is found at the head of this article. A candid and thorough historical exposition is what we shall attempt. It is manifest that the subject is not well understood in this country ; much less in Great Britain, and other European nations. In the following pages, therefore, we hope to render some service to our friends on the other side of the ocean. We select, in the present article, the instance of Massachusetts, including the Plymouth colony, as furnishing a far greater number of interesting facts and results on the question than either of the other provinces or States.

* London Christian Observer, Vol. XXXIII. pp. 573, 574.

Before proceeding directly to the subject, we wish to advert to a few facts in English history, which will throw considerable light on the subsequent discussions. One hundred and fifty years before the Lutheran reformation, the celebrated Wickliffe contended that civil government should not be committed to the clergy ; that it was not lawful for a Christian, after the full publication of the law of Christ, to devise himself any other laws for the government of the church ; and that to bind men to set and prescript forms of prayer, doth derogate from that liberty God hath given them. He defined the church to consist only of persons predestinated.

No ecclesiastical privileges had occasioned such disputes, or proved so mischievous as the immunity of all tonsured persons from civil punishment for crimes. It was a material improvement of the law under Henry VI. that instead of being instantly claimed by the bishop on their arrest for any criminal charge, they were compelled to plead their privilege at their arraignment, or after conviction. Henry VII. carried this much further by enacting that clerks (the clergy) convicted of felony should be burned in the hand. In 1513, the 4th of Henry VIII., the benefit of clergy was entirely taken away from murderers and highway robbers. An exemption was still made for priests, deacons, and sub-deacons. Henry sustained from the assaults of the clergy a certain doctor Standish, who had denied the divine right of clerks to their exemption from temporal jurisdiction. On the death of Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, Henry applied to Rome for the usual bulls in behalf of Cranmer, whom he nominated to the vacant see. These were the last bulls obtained, and probably the last instance of any exercise of the papal supremacy in this reign. An act followed in the next session, that bishops elected by their chapter on a royal recommendation should be consecrated, and archbishops receive the pall, without suing for the pope's bulls. In another act, the king is recited to be the supreme head of the church of England, as the clergy had two years before acknowledged in convocation. The words of the oath of supremacy run thus: " I, A. B. do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the king's majesty is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other his highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal.— And therefore I promise from henceforth I shall bear faithful and true allegiance to the king's highness, his heirs and lawful suc-

cessors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdiction, privileges, pre-eminences granted, or belonging to the king's highness, his heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God."

As Cranmer's influence over the king became greater, and his aversion to the Romish church more inveterate, so material a change was made in the ecclesiastical policy of this reign, as to direct the Scriptures in Matthew's edition to be set up in parish churches, and permit them to be publicly sold. Under Edward VI., a reformation of the public service was accomplished, and an English liturgy compiled, not essentially different from that in present use; images were taken away from churches, altars demolished, and a variety of ceremonies abrogated; the worship of the saints and of the virgin, the doctrine of purgatory, auricular confession, and the corporeal presence in the eucharist were swept away. It seems to be evident that in this reign, the reformation moved on with too precipitate a step for the majority. Here perhaps we may trace the origin of *puritanism*. Early evidences are discoverable of a division of the friends of the reformation into the *violent* and the *more moderate* classes. In the north and west of England, the body of the people were strictly catholics. The new doctrines prevailed in London, in many of the large towns, and in the eastern counties. Tolerance in religion was yet hardly considered practicable, much less as a matter of right. Under Edward, the Romish worship was proscribed in England. Individuals were sent to prison for hearing mass and similar offences. The princess Mary supplicated in vain to have the exercise of her own religion at home. Cranmer, whose conduct was in general far from being rancorous and cruel, was guilty of pursuing unto death Joan Boucher, and a Dutchman, who had been guilty of Arianism.* Bishops Heath and Day, who were worthy and moderate reformers, were imprisoned, because they objected to the removal of altars.

During the reign of the sanguinary Mary, the tendency to protestantism became much more decided and thorough. Burnet says that the cruelties of this period "raised that horror in

* Hallam, in his Constitutional History of England, though a very able, and in most respects, an impartial writer, is unnecessarily severe in his remarks on Cranmer. In other cases, he shows a cold indifference towards the reformation.

the whole nation, that there seems ever since that time such an abhorrence to that religion to be derived down from father to son, that it is no wonder an aversion so deeply rooted and raised upon such grounds, does upon every new provocation or jealousy of returning to it, break out in most violent and convulsive symptoms." The number who suffered death by fire in this reign is reckoned by Fox at 284, by Speed at 277, and by Lord Burleigh at 290. Elizabeth was not only forced to have a chapel in her house, and to give all external signs of conformity, but to protest on oath her attachment to the Catholic faith.

Elizabeth ascended the throne, November 17, 1558. The supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs was restored to the crown; and the laws made concerning religion in Edward's time, were re-enacted by a pliant parliament. In the summer of 1559, the queen appointed a general ecclesiastical visitation, to compel the observance of the protestant formularies. It appears from their reports that only about one hundred dignitaries and eighty parochial priests, resigned their benefices or were deprived. By the act of supremacy, all beneficed ecclesiastics, and all laymen holding office under the crown, were obliged to take an oath, renouncing the spiritual as well as temporal jurisdiction of every foreign prince or prelate, on pain of forfeiting their office or benefice; and it was rendered highly penal, and for the third offence treasonable, to maintain such supremacy by writing or speaking. The act of uniformity prohibited under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels for the first offence, of a year's imprisonment for the second, and of imprisonment during life for the third, the use by a minister, whether beneficed or not, of any but the established liturgy; and imposed a fine of one shilling on all who should absent themselves from church on Sundays and holidays.*

In 1561, Sir Edward Waldgrave and his lady were sent to the tower for hearing mass and having a priest in their house. Many others, about the same time, were punished for a like offence. The Catholics do not as yet seem to have been guilty of any civil offence. Soon, however, they made use of pretended conjurations and prophecies of the queen's death, in order to unsettle the people's minds, and dispose them to anticipate another re-action. Priests travelled the country in various disguises to keep alive a flame which the practice of outward

* Hallam's Constitutional History of England. Vol. I. p. 154, Amer. Ed.

conformity to the English church was calculated to extinguish. 'There was not a county in England,' says a catholic historian, 'where several of Mary's clergy did not reside, and were commonly called the old priests.' Some of them mingled with the anabaptists and other sectaries in the hope both of exciting dislike to the establishment, and of instilling their own tenets, slightly disguised, into the minds of unwary enthusiasts. The catholic martyrs under Elizabeth amount, according to Dodd, to one hundred and ninety-one. Milner raises the list to two hundred and four. Fifteen of them, according to Milner, suffered for denying the queen's supremacy, one hundred and twenty-six for exercising their ministry, and the rest for being reconciled to the Romish church. Many others died of hardships in prison, and many were deprived of their property. There is good reason however for doubting whether any one, who was executed, might not have saved his life by explicitly denying the pope's power to depose the queen, though no reasonable man can justify a penal infliction for holding a speculative tenet, unconnected with an overt act.

In following up her ecclesiastical prerogative, Elizabeth was called to contend with a religious party quite opposite to the Romish. This was the puritan. Cranmer, and Ridley, the founders of the English reformation, adopted a middle course between the Lutheran ritual, which connived at certain ceremonies, and that of the Calvinists, which was distinguished for its simplicity. The general tendency of the reformation, especially in the reign of Edward, was towards the Genevan forms. In Mary's reign, the most eminent protestant clergymen took refuge in various cities of Germany and Switzerland. They were received by the Calvinists with fraternal kindness, while the Lutheran divines neglected them. Divisions soon arose among themselves about the use of the English service, in which a considerable party were disposed to make alterations. On their return to England, they found Elizabeth not very averse to some of the splendid ceremonies of the Romish worship. Her great struggle with the reformers was about the crucifix, which she retained in her chapel, with lighted tapers burning before it. This practice she renounced only temporarily and with much reluctance. She expressed so great an aversion to the marriage of the clergy, that she would never consent to repeal the statute of her sister's reign against it. The protestants had seen at Geneva and at Zurich the simplest, and as they

conceived, the purest forms of worship. They were persuaded that the vestments still worn by the clergy, as in the days of popery, though in themselves indifferent, led to erroneous notions among the people, and kept alive a recollection of former superstition. Such men as Jewel, Grindal, Sandys, and Howell, were in favor of leaving off the surplice, and what were called the popish ceremonies. The queen alone was the cause of retaining those observances. The repugnance felt by a large part of the protestant clergy to the ceremonies with which Elizabeth would not consent to dispense, showed itself in irregular transgressions. Some continued to wear the habits; others laid them aside; the communicants received the sacrament sitting, or standing, or kneeling, according to their minister's taste. Some baptized in the font, others in a basin; some with the sign of the cross, others without it. The people in London, and other towns, favoring the puritans, insulted such of the clergy as observed the prescribed order. This unsettled state of things lasted till 1565. In the beginning of that year, Archbishop Parker put forth a book containing orders and regulations for the discipline of the clergy. Sampson, dean of Christ church, was deprived of his deanery. Humphry, president of Magdalen college, Oxford, a distinguished nonconformist, was also summoned before the ecclesiastical commission. Thirty-seven out of ninety-eight London ministers, refusing to comply with the legal ceremonies, were suspended from their ministry, and their livings put in sequestration. In consequence, the puritans began to form separate meetings in London, not ostentatiously, but of course without the possibility of eluding notice. The first instance of actual punishment inflicted on protestant dissenters was in the year 1567, when a company of more than one hundred were seized during their religious services at Plummer's Hall, which they had hired on the pretence of a wedding, and fourteen or fifteen of them were sent to prison.

The younger students, at the university of Cambridge, imbibing ardently the new creed of ecclesiastical liberty, began to throw off their surplices, and to commit other breaches of discipline.

The first period in the history of puritanism includes the time from the queen's accession to 1570, during which the retention of superstitious ceremonies in the church had been the sole ground of complaint. But when these obnoxious rites be-

gan to be rigorously enforced, the dislike, which had been felt to some of the prelates, was transferred to the institutions of episcopacy.

About 1570, Thomas Cartwright, professor of divinity at Cambridge, began to inculcate the unlawfulness of any form of church-government but the presbyterian. He was an acute, learned and self-confident man. In 1572, he published his celebrated "Admonition to the Parliament," calling on that assembly to reform the various abuses existing in the church. A majority of the puritans, however, would not have subscribed to the extravagances of Cartwright, or desired to take away the legal supremacy of the crown. Archbishop Parker, inflamed by the haughty claims of Cartwright, continued to harass the puritan ministers, suppressing their books, silencing them in churches, and prosecuting them in private meetings. Plain citizens, for listening to puritan sermons, were dragged before the high commission, and imprisoned, upon any refusal to conform. A certain religious exercise, called *prophesyings*, which afterwards prevailed in New England, and which consisted in discussing and expounding particular texts of scripture, was put down, by the zealous Parker, and his royal mistress.

Whitgift, a few months after his promotion to the see of Canterbury, vacant by the death of Parker, promulgated articles for the observance of discipline, one of which prohibited all preaching, reading, or catechising in private houses, whereto any not of the same family should resort. He was abundantly seconded by the violent and covetous Aylmer, bishop of London. The puritans became alarmed and wrote and talked with great severity against the bishops and hierarchy. Some of them went to very unjustifiable lengths, though the provocation was bitter. In 1593, an act was passed, enforcing the penalty of imprisonment against any person above the age of sixteen, who should forbear for the space of a month to repair to some church, until he should make such open submission and declaration of conformity as the act appoints. Those, who refused to submit to these conditions, were to abjure the realm, and if they should return without the queen's license, to suffer death as felons. This helped to crush both the Romanist and the puritans. It ought, however, to be remarked that the puritans throughout this reign, disclaimed the imputation of schism, and acknowledged the lawfulness of continuing in the established church, while they demanded a further reformation of her dis-

cipline. The real separatists, who were also a considerably numerous body, were denominated Brownists or Barrowists, from the names of their founders. These went far beyond the puritans in their aversion to a legal ministry, and were deemed in consequence still more proper subjects for persecution. Two of them, Barrow and Greenwood, were executed at Bury. Peirce, in his *Vindication of the Dissenters*, says that "the reports concerning Brown were so various, that it is hard to discern the truth. All seem to agree that he was not so fixed in his notions, but that the persecution of the bishops made him conform. The Independents do not own him as their ringleader."* Sir Walter Raleigh, in his speech on the passage of the bill under which the Brownists suffered, says, "In his conceit, the Brownists are worthy to be rooted out of a commonwealth; but what danger may grow to ourselves, if this law passes, it were fit to be considered. For it is to be feared that men not guilty will be included in it; and that law is hard that taketh life, or sendeth into banishment, where men's intentions shall be judged by a jury, and they shall be judges what another meant. But what law that is against a fact is just; and punish the fact as severely as you will. If two or three thousand Brownists meet at the seaside, at whose charge shall they be transported, or whither will you send them? I am sorry for it; I am afraid there is near 20,000 of them in England; and when they are gone, who shall maintain their wives and children?" In 1592, in the very place in which a protestant congregation worshipped God in Mary's reign, fifty-six Brownists were seized on the Lord's day. Some were imprisoned; others, after two years' imprisonment, were banished; and some were hanged.

About the year 1602, many of the humbler sort of puritans, living on the borders of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, and York, were gathered into a congregation by the influence and preaching of Richard Clifton and John Robinson. They entered into a solemn covenant, devoting themselves to the service of God, and to the aid and comfort of each other. In 1606, the church on account of its dispersed state, had become divided into two churches, to one of which belonged Robinson, and William Brewster, afterwards its ruling elder. Mr Robinson, and as many of his congregation as found it in their pow-

* Peirce's *Vindication*, London, 1718, p. 142.

er, left England in the years 1607 and 1608, and settled in Amsterdam; whence in 1609, they removed to Leyden. At Leyden, they lived harmoniously amongst themselves, and were greatly respected by the Dutch. At the end of eleven years, they had three hundred communicants. Robinson was a man of piety, learning, and catholicism. Baylie, who was zealously opposed both to the Brownists and Independents allows that "Mr Robinson was a man of excellent parts, and the most learned, polished, and modest spirit, as ever separated from the church of England; that he ruined the rigid separation; and that he was a principal overthrower of the Brownists."* By the "Apology"† of Robinson, it appears that in regard to the rule of faith, they entirely disclaimed human authority, and distinctly maintained the right of every man to judge of the sense of the Scriptures for himself, of trying doctrines by them, and of worshipping according to his apprehension of them. They allowed all the pious members of the church of England to hold communion with them. The ecclesiastical polity accords essentially with that which was afterwards recognized by the pastors and churches of New England in the Cambridge Platform. It maintains that ecclesiastical censures were wholly spiritual, and not to be accompanied with temporal penalties; that all elders and all churches are equal in respect to power and privileges; and finally, they renounced all right of human invention, or imposition in religious matters.

In 1617, having concluded to emigrate to the new world, they sent Robert Cushman and John Carver to England, to treat with the Virginia Company, and to ascertain whether the King would grant them liberty of conscience in that distant country. On his refusal to grant them the privilege, the agents returned in 1618 to Leyden. In 1619, two other agents were despatched to England for the same purpose. After long attendance, they obtained a patent, taken out in the name of Mr John Wincob, ("a religious gentleman, belonging to the countess of Lincoln,") which was carried to Leyden, but which was

* See Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. IV. 133, 140. Holmes's Annals, I. 572.

† The title is "Apologia Justa et Necessaria Quorundam Christianorum, aequae contumeliose ac communiter dictorum *Brownistarum* sive *Barrowistarum*. Per Johannem Robinsonum Anglo Leidensem suo et ecclesiae nomine, cui praefigitur" 1619. A copy of it is in the Prince Collection, deposited in the library of the Mass. Hist. Soc.

never used, as Wincob was prevented from executing his purpose of accompanying the emigrants. In July, 1620, Robinson preached a sermon, which "breathed a noble spirit of christian liberty." "I charge you," said he, "before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. I am very confident, that the Lord has more truth to break forth out of his holy word. I beseech you remember it as an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God."

On the eleventh of November, 1620, in the harbor of Cape Cod, the emigrants signed a solemn instrument, which recognized the great principle, then first practically exemplified, "*that the will of the majority shall govern.*" They acknowledged an obligation to obey the laws of England generally, and in their instrument of government recognize James as their sovereign, but otherwise they were a *voluntary association*, a pure democracy, where all power was exercised by the whole people. In ecclesiastical affairs, the governor did not interfere more than any other individual. Two persons, Lyford and Oldham, were soon expelled from the colony. Their crime was plotting and writing against the colony, and attempting to excite a sedition. It cannot be ascertained that they had at first any written code of laws, descriptive of offences, and defining the limits of punishment. On the third of November, 1620, the *great patent* of New England, under the King's hand, was issued to the council, which by that instrument was established at Plymouth, England, to enable them to "plant, rule, and govern, New England." Of this the pilgrims, when they subscribed their instrument in Cape Cod harbor, were ignorant. The only passages in this patent immediately bearing on our present purpose, we will quote. "And forasmuch as it shall be necessary for all such our loving subjects as shall inhabit within the said precincts of New England aforesaid, to determine to live together, in the fear and true worship of Almighty God, christian fear, and civil quietness, each with the other, whereby every one may with more safety, pleasure, and profit, enjoy that, whereunto they shall attain with great pain and peril, etc." "And lastly, because the principal effect, which we can desire, or expect of this action, is the conversion of, and reduction of the people in those parts, unto the true worship of God and christian religion, in which respect we would be loath that any person should be per-

mitted to pass, that we suspected to affect the superstition of the church of Rome, we do hereby declare, that it is our will and pleasure, that none be permitted to pass in any voyage, from time to time to be made into the said country, *but such as shall first have taken the oath of supremacy*; for which purpose, we do, by these presents, give full power and authority to the president of the said council, to tender and exhibit the said oath to all such persons as shall at any time, be sent and employed in the said voyage."

In 1634, Mr. Doane supplied the place of Dr. Fuller as deacon of the church, and, *consequently*, was not re-elected to the magistracy. Previous to 1636, the colony was a voluntary association, ruled by the majority, and not by fixed laws. No provision was made for the support of schools or of the clergy; the attachment of the people, then, assured the maintenance of the clergy without the coercion of the law, and no oaths of office were administered. The power of the church was, in effect, superior to the civil power, but was confined to the infliction of censure only.* On the 15th of November, 1636, a body of laws was enacted, and a declaration of rights was made. The right of suffrage was confined to the freemen. The qualifications required to constitute a freeman were: "twenty-one years of age, sober and peaceable conversation, orthodoxy in the fundamentals of religion, and a rateable estate to the value of twenty pounds." William Vassal, Esq. of Scituate, an episcopalian, and some others, were excluded from the privilege. Five offences were made capital. One of them was "diabolical conversation, or conversing with the devil, by way of witchcraft, conjuration, or the like." On this statute, however, no convictions were ever had, and no punishment inflicted. Drunkenness, and like misdemeanors, were punished by a fine. "To the independent churches, in the Plymouth colony," says Mr. Baylies, "we may trace the original notion of independent communities, which afterwards assumed the name of towns, and which, after having passed through an ecclesiastical state, assumed the shape of political corporations." For the first twenty years of its existence, the Plymouth colony was not disturbed with sectarian disputes.

About the years 1645—50, the people began to manifest great indifference as to the support of their ministers. Many

* Baylies's Memoir of the Plymouth colony, Vol. I. p. 228.

doubted the benefit of stated preaching, and chose to exercise their own spiritual gifts. So wretched was the support, that some of the ministers left the colony, among whom were Messrs. Reyner of Plymouth, Street of Taunton, Leveredge of Sandwich, Chauncy of Scituate, and Bulkley of Marshfield. The places of these distinguished men were not supplied. This deplorable state of things caused a remonstrance from the colony of Massachusetts, through the commissioners of the united colonies, who met at Plymouth, in September, 1656. They requested that measures might be taken to secure a learned and orthodox ministry, that thus the principles of anarchy and error might be prevented from taking root. The commissioners replied respectfully, and assented to the reasonableness of the remonstrance. Consequently, in 1657, legal proceedings were instituted against the Quakers. Any person, who brought in a Quaker into the colony, was ordered to take him away on a fine of twenty shillings, for every week in which such Quaker or heretic should remain, after being warned to depart. Subsequently, the court enacted that no Quaker be entertained by any person, or persons within this government under the penalty of five pounds for every such default, or be whipped. On the 6th of October, 1657, Humphrey Norton, a Quaker, was banished. He returned the next year, and with one John Rouse, was apprehended. They used very abusive language towards the governor, and were required to take the oath of allegiance to the king. On refusal they were whipped, and imprisoned. They were, however, soon liberated and departed from the jurisdiction. In 1658, several disfranchising laws were passed against the Quakers. In 1659, six Quakers were ordered to depart from the colony on pain of death. These laws, however, soon gave place to milder ones, though the public feeling in regard to schismatics, and the enactments, varied at different times. In 1655, and in 1657, legislative proceedings were had in reference to the support of ministers. A just assessment was ordered upon the estates of the inhabitants for this purpose. In 1657, public meetings were forbidden "to be set up in the government" only such as the court shall approve. Before 1670, the ministers had gathered the rates. The practice was then discontinued. In June, 1675, it was enacted that a meeting-house should be erected in every town in the jurisdiction, and any town refusing or neglecting to do so, the governor or magistrates were empowered to appoint some person or

persons to build it, according to the necessity and ability of the people, the charge to be defrayed by the inhabitants and proprietors of the towns. In 1674, inn-keepers were forbidden to sell liquor on the Sabbath. In 1650, nine persons, belonging to Rehoboth, who had embraced the principles of the baptists, were indicted for continuing their meetings from house to house on the Lord's day, contrary to the order of court. It does not appear that any punishment was inflicted. In 1667, the town of Swanzey was empowered by the general court to exclude from the plantation all erroneous persons, or those guilty of any damnable heresies. In 1677 and 1678, new provisions were adopted for the support of public worship and the building of meeting-houses. They were stronger and of a more coercive character than any preceding resolutions. In 1682, the people were required to refrain from work and recreation on fast and thanksgiving days, and from travelling on the Sabbath, and on lecture days. Inn-keepers were to clear their houses of all persons "able to go to meeting, except strangers."

In 1691, the colony was united to the Massachusetts. The general court of Plymouth exercised their power for the last time, by appointing the last Wednesday of August to be kept as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation. Congregational churches had been gathered in all the towns but Dartmouth, Swanzey, and Freetown. In Scituate were two congregational churches, and in Swanzey a baptist church.

The first planters, who arrived with Endicot at Salem, held some communication with their brethren at Plymouth, and expressed their opinion fully, that the church in Plymouth should not claim any jurisdiction over the church in Salem; and that the authority of ordination should not exist in the clergy, but should depend upon a free election of members of the church, and that there should be a representation of this power preserved continually.* In the choice of an elder to rule in the church, care was taken not to accept of a civil officer†. In the advice of the English Plymouth company to Mr. Endicot, they observe

* See Vol. I. Mass Hist. Soc. Coll.

† Mr. Nowel, the ruling elder of the church in Boston, was obliged to leave this office, in 1632. The church in Plymouth had great influence over the churches in Massachusetts, and it was their opinion that a "ruler in the church ought not to be a ruler in the State at the same time."

"To the end the Sabbath may be celebrated in a religious manner we appoint that all that inhabit the plantation, both for the general and particular employments, may surcease their labor every Saturday throughout the year at 3 o'clock P. M., and that they spend the rest of that day in catechizing and preparing for the Sabbath as the ministers shall direct."* They also directed that *no idle drone* be permitted to live in the colony, and that good laws be made for the punishment of *profane swearers*. Early after the colony was founded, Messrs Samuel and John Brown, members of the church of England, created considerable excitement by their opposition to the government. The ministers, and Mr. Endicot, endeavored to bring them over to the usages of the puritans, but without success. They were at length sent off to England.

The fathers of Massachusetts, Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, and others, who came over in the *Arbella*, had a great respect for the doctrines of the English church, nor did they make particular exceptions to their manner of worship, though they had broken away from episcopacy.

In 1631, at the second General Court, an order was passed, that for the time to come, none should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were church members. The tenure of church membership was satisfactory evidence of regeneration. This continued for a considerable period the law of the colony.†

In July, 1632, the congregation at Boston, says Winthrop, wrote to the elders of the churches of Plymouth, Salem, etc. for their advice in three questions, 1. Whether one person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder at the same time? 2. If not, then which should be laid down? 3. Whether there might be divers pastors in the same church? The first was answered in the negative. The other two doubtfully. On the 17th of September, 1633, the governor and council met at Boston, and called the ministers and elders of all the churches, "to consider about Mr. Cotton his sitting down." It was agreed that Boston was the fittest place for him; "and that preaching a lecture he should have some maintenance out of the treasury. But divers of the council upon their second thoughts did after refuse this contribution." On the well known case of Roger

* Felt's Annals of Salem, p. 22.

† Hutchinson's Massachusetts, Vol. I. p. 26.

Williams, the governor and council often met, in conjunction with the ministers and elders. The first record was in December, 1633; when the governor wrote to Endicot, to let him know what was done, adding various arguments to confute the errors of Williams. On the 24th of the following month, the council met again. In September, 1634, the main business of the court which met at Newton respected granting permission to Mr. Hooker and his company to remove to Hartford. Not being able to agree, the court adjourned, after appointing a day of fasting and prayer. On the reassembling of the court, Mr Cotton preached, "and laid down the nature or strength of the magistracy, ministry, and people." This discourse happily removed the difficulty. In the winter of 1634, all the ministers of the colony except Mr Ward of Ipswich, met at Boston, being requested by the governor and assistants, "to consider what we ought to do in case a general governor should be sent out of England, and whether it were lawful for us to carry the cross in our banners." At a court in 1635, Mr. Williams was summoned to appear, and came accordingly. The first of the charges laid against him was his opinion that the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace. This, with his other opinions, was adjudged by all the magistrates and ministers present, to be erroneous. It was contended that if the civil magistrate could not intermeddle, a church might run into heresy, apostasy, or tyranny. In January, 1635, a pinnace was sent to Salem, with commission to Capt. Underhill, to apprehend Williams. He had happily escaped three days before, and gone towards Providence. In 1635, there was a meeting of various ministers and laymen, on civil affairs, "the issue of which was to convince governor Winthrop, that he had acted with too much lenity and remissness."

In the Journal of Winthrop, February, 1636, we find that the ministers were called to give advice about the authority of the court in church matters. They came to the following conclusions. 1. That no member of the court ought to be publicly questioned by a church for any speech in the court, without the license of the court. The reason was because the court may have sufficient reason that may excuse the sin, which yet may not be fit to acquaint the church with, being a secret of state. 2. In all such heresies or errors of any church members as are manifest and dangerous to the State, the court may proceed

without tarrying for the church ; but if the opinions be doubtful, they are first to refer them to the church. In 1638, a law was passed respecting those who should continue excommunicated six months. In May, 1639, Winthrop has the following record, "Mr. Cotton, preaching out of 8 of 2 Kings, 8, taught, that, when magistrates are forced to provide for the maintenance of ministers, then the churches are in a declining condition. Then he showed that the ministers' maintenance should be by voluntary contribution, not by lands, or revenues, or tithes, etc., for these have always been accompanied with pride, contention, sloth, etc." In the same year, Mr. Cotton and Mr. Ward were appointed by the court to frame a body of laws.

At the court of assistants, in 1640, one Hugh Bewett was banished for holding publicly that he was free from original sin, and from actual also, for half a year before, and that all true Christians are enabled to live without committing actual sin ; he was adjudged by a jury to be "guilty of heresy, and his person and errors dangerous for infection of others." His sentence was banishment on pain of death. He went to Rhode Island. In 1640, a meeting-house was erected by the church in Boston for £1000, "which was raised out of weekly voluntary contribution without any noise or complaint, when in some other churches which did it by way of rates, there was much difficulty and compulsion by levies, to raise a far less sum." In the same year, one Briscoe of Watertown, being grieved that the minister's maintenance was raised by taxation, and with some others, who were non-communicants, being taxed, wrote a book against the practice. He and two others were called before the court and reprimanded. Briscoe was fined £10 and one of the publishers 40 shillings.

In 1643, the first charter of the colony was granted. It contains the following sentence : "whereby our said people inhabiting there may be so religiously, peaceably and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may win and invite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the christian faith, which in our royal intention, and in the adventurers' *free profession* is the principal end of this plantation, etc."* In 1643, the court "finding that Gorton and his company did harm in the towns where they were confined, and not knowing

* Hutchinson Collection of Papers, ed. 1769, p. 19.

what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty, and gave them fourteen days to depart out of our jurisdiction in all parts, and no more to come into it upon pain of death. This censure was thought too light and favorable, but we knew not how in justice we could inflict any punishment upon them, the sentence of the court being already passed, &c."

"Anabaptistry," says Hutchinson, "increased and spread in the country, which occasioned the magistrates at the last court, to draw an order for banishing such as continued obstinate after due conviction. This was sent to the elders, who approved it, with some mitigation, and being voted, and sent to the deputies, it was afterwards published." About the same time, one Painter of Hingham was ordered to be whipped, *not for his opinion*, but for reproaching the Lord's ordinance of baptism, and for his bold and evil behavior both at home and at the court." On occasion of differences between the magistrates, Winthrop says, "some of the elders had done no good offices in this matter, through their misapprehensions both of the intentions of the magistrates, and also of the matters themselves, being affairs of state, which did not belong to their calling."

In 1646, a petition was delivered to the court, signed by Robert Child, Thomas Fowle, Samuel Maverick, Thomas Burton, John Smith, David Yale and John Dand, "in the name of themselves and many others in the country, praying that civil liberty and freedom might be granted to all truly English; and that the members of the churches of England and of Scotland might be admitted to the privileges of the New England churches; or if these civil and religious liberties were refused, that they might be freed from heavy taxes imposed upon them, and the impresses made upon their children and servants into the war; and if they failed of redress here, they should be under the necessity of making application to England to the honorable houses of parliament, who, they hoped, would take their sad case into consideration, provide able ministers for them, New England having none such to spare, or else transport them to some other place, their estates being wasted, where they might live as Christians, &c." These petitioners were not able to obtain any redress, and were treated with severity, both in the pulpits and by the general court. Child was fined £50, Smith £40, Maverick £10, and the others £30 each. In the Declaration of the general court, appertaining to this affair, the fundamental laws of the colony are stated and compared with

the Magna Charta of England. It is there said "that all persons orthodox in judgment, and not scandalous in life, may gather into a church estate according to the rules of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Such may choose and ordain their own officers, and exercise all the ordinances of Christ, without any injunction in doctrine, worship, or discipline. In all criminal offences, where the law hath prescribed no certain penalty, the judges have power to inflict penalties according to the rule of God's word. Treason, murder, witchcraft, sodomy, and other notorious crimes are punished with death. No custom or prescription shall ever prevail to maintain any thing morally sinful. Civil authority may deal with any church-member or officer in a way of civil justice."* A law, which Child and the remonstrants accounted very severe was the following. "Any two assistants may fine, or imprison such persons inhabiting here, as shall usually absent themselves from church-meetings on the Lord's day, so as the fine exceed not five shillings for one offence."

In 1648, the Cambridge platform was adopted by a synod of ministers and elders, who met at Cambridge. The general court accepted and approved it. The following paragraph from the seventeenth chapter bears on the question in discussion. "The power and authority of magistrates is not for the restraining of churches, or any other good works, but for helping and furthering thereof; and therefore the consent and countenance of magistrates, when it may be had, is not to be slighted or lightly esteemed. It is not in the power of magistrates to compel their subjects to become church members and to partake of the Lord's Supper. As it is unlawful for church officers to meddle with the sword of the magistrate, so is it unlawful for the magistrate to meddle with the work, proper to church officers. It is the duty of the magistrate to take care of matters of religion and to improve his civil authority for the observing of the duties commanded in the first as well as in the second table. The end of the magistrate's office is not only the quiet and peaceable life of the subject in matters of righteousness and honesty, but also in matters of godliness. The objects of the power of the magistrate are not things merely inward, and so not subject to his cognizance and view, as unbelief, hardness of heart and erroneous opinions not vented, but

* Hutchinson Papers, pp. 201, 205, 207.

only such things as are acted by the outward man ; and this not about mere inventions and devices of men, but about such acts as are commanded and forbidden in the word. Idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, venting corrupt and pernicious opinions that destroy the foundation, open contempt of the word preached, profanation of the Lord's day, disturbing the peaceable administration and exercise of the worship and holy things of God, and the like, are to be restrained and punished by the civil authority."*

In the year 1651, the church at Malden made choice of one to be their minister, without consulting the neighboring churches. The general court at their next session, took up the matter, and fined all who were actors in this business. In consequence of which the people of Malden rescinded their act, humbled themselves before the public, and had their fine remitted. It was soon after ordered by the general court, that no minister should be called into office in any of the churches within their jurisdiction, without the approbation and *allowance* of some of the magistrates, as well as some of the neighboring churches. In 1653, the church at North Boston chose a Mr. Powel, a man of sense, but without a learned education to be their pastor. The civil authority forbade the connection, lest occasion should be given to introduce such more generally. The people submitted, and chose him to be their ruling elder.

About this time, the colonists took into consideration the method in which the ministry ought to be maintained. It was concluded to leave it to the power of the county court, throughout the whole jurisdiction, to make sufficient provision for the maintenance of the ministry in the respective towns of the colony, and to rectify the defect upon any complaint for want of means, for a comfortable subsistence.

In 1657, the court of Massachusetts advised to a general council to consider the opinion which began to prevail, that all baptized persons, not scandalous in life and formally excommunicated, ought to be considered members of the church, in all respects, except the right of partaking of the Lord's supper. Delegates from Massachusetts with four from Connecticut, met in Boston in June, 1657. The result was that all baptized persons ought to be considered members of the church. This opinion, meeting with great opposition, another synod was as-

* Magnalia, Vol. II. p. 202.

sembled by advice of the general court in September, 1662, mainly to deliberate upon the question, Who are the subjects of baptism? The result was substantially the same with that given by the council in 1657. The authors of this excitement, which spread all over New England, were desirous not so much of the spiritual privileges of the church, as *for the civil honors and rights connected with it.*

In the mean time, the number of dissatisfied persons increasing, representations of the oppressive nature of the laws of Massachusetts were made in England, and the attention of the parent government was drawn to the subject. In a letter of Charles II. to the Massachusetts government, dated June 28, 1662, is the following: "Since the principle and foundation of the charter was and is the freedom of liberty of conscience, we do hereby charge and require you that that freedom and liberty be duly admitted and allowed, so that they that desire to use the book of common prayer and perform their devotion in that manner that is established here be not denied the exercise thereof, or undergo any prejudice or disadvantage thereby; they using their liberty peaceably without disturbance of others; we assuring ourselves, and obliging and commanding all persons concerned that, in the election of governor or assistants, there be only consideration of the wisdom and integrity of the persons to be chosen, and not of any faction with reference to their opinion or profession, and that all the free-holders of competent estates, not vicious in conversations, orthodox in religion, though of different persuasions concerning church government, may have their vote in the election of all officers civil or military." These requisitions were not complied with. In three or four years, commissioners were sent over by the king to hear and determine respecting various matters in all the colonies. In their report in 1667, they say: "The colonists will not admit any who is not a member of their church to communion, nor their children to baptism. Those whom they will not admit to the communion, they compel to come to their sermons, by fining them five shillings for every neglect. They yet pray constantly for their persecuted brethren in England. Their way of government is commonwealth-like; their way of worship is rude and called congregational, etc." In 1679, Charles wrote as follows: "We shall henceforth expect a suitable obedience in respect of freedom and liberty of conscience, so that those who desire to serve God, in the way of the church of England,

be not thereby made obnoxious or discountenanced from their sharing in the government, much less that they or any other of our good subjects, (not being papists) who do not agree in the congregational way, be by law subjected to fines and forfeitures, or other incapacities for the same ; nor do we think it fit that any other distinction be observed in the making of freemen, than that they be men of competent estates, rateable at ten shillings according to the rules of the place."

In a letter of Edward Randolph to the bishop of London, dated at Boston, May 29th, 1682, it is said, " We have in Boston one Mr. Willard, a minister, brother to major Dudley ; he is a moderate man and baptizeth those who are refused by the other churches, for which he is rated. I have disposed of your excellent books to advantage, and with my wife are cried out upon as disturbers of the peace of the churches." Again in 1686, " The frame of this government, only, is changed, for our independent ministers flourish, and expect to be advised with in public affairs." To the archbishop of Canterbury, in the same year, " Since my arrival with Mr. Ratcliffe, a sober man, it was a long time before they took the least notice of him or his business. At last, though strongly opposed, I got a little room in their town-house, but found it so strait, that we are forced now to make use of the exchange ; where to humor the people, our minister preaches twice a day, and baptizes *all* who come to him. We have prayers every Wednesday and Friday morning on their exchange. *We have often moved for an honorable maintenance for our minister ; but they tell us that those that hire him must maintain him, as they maintain their own ministers by contribution.*" Again to the bishop of London : " Since we are here immediately under your lordship's care, I with more freedom press for able and sober ministers, and we will contribute largely to their maintenance ; but one thing will mainly help, when no marriages hereafter shall be allowed *lawful* but such as are made by the ministers of the church of England."*

* In Humphrey's account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London, 1730, we find the following : " About the year 1679, Dr. Compton, the bishop of London, upon an application to him from several of the inhabitants of Boston, petitioning that a church should be allowed in that town, for the exercise of religion according to the church of England, made a representation of this matter to his majesty Charles II, and a church was allowed to be erected. This affair was presently attended with greater consequen-

In 1685, the charter of the colony was abrogated. In 1686, Col. Joseph Dudley was appointed to take charge of the government under the title of president. In December, Sir Edmund Andros arrived as governor, and the most arbitrary proceedings were commenced. In the charter granted by William and Mary in 1691, religious liberty was secured thus, "we do grant, establish, and ordain, that forever hereafter there shall be a liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all christians (except papists) inhabiting or which shall inhabit said territory." The promotion of good order, the free profession of religion, and the conversion of the Indians were mentioned as the great objects to be pursued. In 1692, an act passed the court requiring that the inhabitants of each town shall take care to be constantly provided with an able, learned, and orthodox ministry. In cases of neglect, the quarter sessions of each county are to provide support for a minister by an assessment upon the inhabitants. The churches were also empowered to exercise and enjoy all their privileges and freedom respecting divine worship, church order, and discipline. In 1693, it was further enacted "that each respective gathered church in any town or place within this province, that at any time shall be in want of a minister, such church shall have power, according to the directions given in the word of God, to choose their own minister; and the major part of such inhabitants as do there usually attend on the public worship of God, and are by law duly qualified for voting in town affairs, concurring with the church's act, the person thus elected and approved, accepting thereof, and settling with them, shall be the minister towards whose settlement and maintenance all the inhabitants and rateable polls lying within said town, or part of a town, or place limited by law for upholding the public worship of God, shall be obliged to pay in proportion." In a place where no church is gathered, the major part of the inhabitants were to act with the advice of three neighboring ministers. In 1695, it was

ces. This, and the questioning of the charter of the country, which happened about that time, together with some other matters relating to the colony, occasioned the religious state of those countries to be more strictly considered," pp. 7, 8. The result was the establishment of the society above alluded to, chartered by William and Mary. King's Chapel in School-street, was built. In 1722, a second episcopal meeting-house was built, in the north part of the town.

provided that in cases where a major part of the town do not accord with the church in the election of a minister, the church shall call a council of the elders and messengers of three or five neighboring churches. If this council, after hearing the case, shall approve the choice of the church, then the minister chosen shall be the minister of the place, notwithstanding the dissent of the town; if the council disapprove, the church shall proceed to another election. It was also provided that no person, by reason of voting in the church, shall be precluded from voting as an inhabitant of the town.

In 1697, an act was passed against atheism and blasphemy. The penalties are imprisonment for six months, sitting in the pillory, whipping, etc. In 1702, "the Quakers and other irreligious persons" having evaded or made opposition to the law respecting public worship, it was provided that the county court shall proceed to assess a sufficient sum for the maintenance of the ministry upon delinquent selectmen or towns. In 1718, an act was passed, empowering assessors to assess and raise money for building meeting-houses, and defraying other necessary charges for the support of public worship.

Since the granting of the new charter, no synod had been convened, though a convention of ministers had been annually held at the time of the election of the council. In 1725, a petition was made to the court for the calling of another synod. It was referred to the next session, when the request was granted. The episcopal clergy opposed the measure, and applied to the bishop of London to put a stop to it; the king being abroad, an order was sent over from the lords justices to stay all proceedings, and the lieutenant governor was censured for giving his consent. No attempt of the kind was made afterwards.

In 1742, in consequence of some complaints from the members of the church of England, that they were unreasonably taxed for the support of divine worship in the manner established by the laws of the province, while they and their families constantly attend divine worship according to the usages of the church of England, it was enacted, that the town treasurer shall pay over to the episcopal minister in the town or place where the members of the church of England attend worship all monies assessed on such persons for this purpose; the church warden having first certified the treasurer that the persons in question are members of the church of England, or frequent attendants upon her services.

In 1751, it was enacted that the salaries of ministers of new plantations should be assessed by the court of general sessions ; and delinquent assessors to be convented before the court and fined forty shillings. In 1760, it was enacted that towns shall not be assessed for the support of an illiterate ministry. Proper qualifications are defined to be education at some public university, college, or academy, a degree from some such institution, or a proper testimonial from a majority of the settled ministers in the county.

In 1780, the Constitution of Massachusetts was adopted, with the following provisions in the bill of rights, relating to the subject in question. "It is the right as well as the duty, of all men in society, publicly, and at stated times, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God, in the manner and seasons, most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience ; or for his religious profession or sentiments, provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship. As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government essentially depend upon piety, religion and morality, and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the institutions of the public worship of God, and of public institutions in piety, religion, and morality ;—Therefore to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorize and require the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases, where such provision shall not be made voluntarily. All the people of the commonwealth have also a right to, and do invest their legislature with authority, to enjoin upon all the subjects, an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers, as aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend.—Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and the other bodies politic, or religious societies,

shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them, for their support, and maintenance. All monies, paid by the subject, to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers, of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any, on whose instructions he attends ; otherwise, it may be paid towards the support of the teacher, or teachers, of the parish, or precinct, in which the said monies are raised. And every denomination of christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law ; and no subordination of any sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law." According to the Constitution, any person, chosen governor, lieutenant governor, counsellor, senator, or representative, and accepting the trust, before he proceeded to execute the duties of his office, was required to subscribe the following declaration, "I, A. B. do declare, that I believe the christian religion, and have a firm persuasion of its truth." This is now abolished.

From 1780 to 1811, parishes were territorial corporations, and all the inhabitants of the territory, except Quakers, were of course, unless exempted by a special act of the legislature, members of the parish in whose bounds they dwelt. It was not a matter of option with the other parishioners whether a new inhabitant should become a member of their society. The law gave him a right to the privileges of a parishioner, and also imposed on him corresponding legal duties and liabilities. By a law passed in 1811, any person becoming a member of a religious society, whether corporate or unincorporate, is to have his membership certified by a committee of such society—i. e. the new society which he joins, and the certificate is to be filed with the clerk of the town, where he, the seceding parishioner dwells, and such person is exempt forever from taxation in all other societies whatsoever. By a statute, enacted in 1824, any person may separate from one society and join another by filing with the clerk of the society left, a certificate of the fact under the hand of the clerk of the society which he chooses to join. By these laws, parishes were no longer regulated as territorial or corporate bodies ; nor religious worship of any sort, a condition of the enjoyment of parochial powers and duties.

Instead of the third article of the bill of rights just quoted, the

following has been substituted, entitled the "Eleventh Article of Amendment." It was submitted to the people of the commonwealth on the second Munday of November, 1833, and by their vote, established as a part of the Constitution.

"As the public worship of God, and instructions in piety, religion, and morality, promote the happiness and prosperity of a people, and the security of a republican government; therefore the several religious societies of this commonwealth, whether corporate or unincorporate, at any meeting legally warned and holden for that purpose, shall ever have the right to elect their pastors or religious teachers, to contract with them for their support, to raise money for erecting and repairing houses for public worship, for the maintenance of religious instruction, and for the payment of necessary expenses; and all persons belonging to any religious society shall be taken, and held to be members, until they shall file with the clerk of such society a written notice declaring the dissolution of their membership, and thenceforth shall not be liable for any grant or contract which may be thereafter made or entered into by such society: and all religious sects and denominations demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good citizens of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another, shall ever be established by law."

On the first of April, 1834, an act was passed by the legislature relating to parishes and religious freedom. The first section is as follows: "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the several parishes and religious societies within this commonwealth, whether corporate or unincorporate, are hereby confirmed unto them, except so far as the same may be limited or modified by the provisions of this act, or the eleventh article of the amendments to the constitution. And the respective churches connected and associated in public worship with such parishes and religious societies, shall at all times have, use, exercise and enjoy, all their accustomed privileges, and liberties, respecting divine worship, church order and discipline, and shall be encouraged in the peaceable and regular enjoyment and practice thereof."

The second section enacts the substance of the eleventh article of amendment. The third section we quote: "Be it fur-

ther enacted, that the several parishes and religious societies, at any legal meeting for that purpose, duly notified and warned, may make, ordain, and establish by-laws, prescribing the manner in which persons may become members thereof; and such other by-laws as they may deem expedient: provided, that such by-laws be not repugnant to the laws and constitution of the commonwealth: and provided, also, that any person, who at the time of the passage of this act, shall be an inhabitant of any territorial parish, and not a member thereof, but who may formerly have been a member of the same, shall at any time within six months from the passage of this act, have a right to re-unite himself to such parish, by leaving with the clerk thereof a written notice of his intentions so to do. And any inhabitant of such territorial parish, upon arriving at full age, shall have a right to become a member of the same, by filing notice of his intentions as aforesaid, within six months from the time such inhabitant shall arrive at full age. And no person shall have a right to vote in the affairs of any territorial parish, until he shall have been a member thereof for the term of six months."

The fourth section points out the manner in which taxes may be assessed. The fifth and seventh sections authorize unincorporated religious societies to exercise the same rights and enjoy the same privileges as those which are incorporated. The sixth section points out the method in which a religious society may be organized. The eighth section prescribes the duty of assessors; and the ninth repeals the sixth section of the act of 1792, the acts of 1800, of 1811, and of 1824, pertaining to this subject; also all laws providing for the settlement of ministers, and the support of the public worship of God, made prior to the adoption of the Constitution.

Before closing our historical notices of this deeply interesting subject, we must briefly advert to some decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, of a most important character.

In 1811, a parish in Sandwich voted to dismiss their minister, the Rev. Jonathan Burr, a great majority of the church nonconcurring. These, together with the minister, and a minority of the parish formed themselves into a new society, were incorporated as a poll parish, and the members of the church claimed to be the first church in Sandwich, and an action was defended at their instance and request. The cause was decid-

ed in favor of the plaintiffs, on the ground that the church (the small minority remaining with the original parish,) was the lawful successor of the church, to which certain property had been devised. It had before been decided by the Court that the dismissal of Mr Burr was regular and lawful, notwithstanding more than three fourths of the church members adhered to him, and continued in another place, to attend on his ministry.*

Another case of a very interesting character occurred in Dedham in 1819 and in 1820. On the dismissal of the Rev. Joshua Bates from the pastoral charge of the first church in that town, the Rev. Alvan Lamson was elected by the parish to be his successor, a majority of the church refusing to concur. After his ordination, the church no longer associated in worship with the majority of the parish in the house where they had been accustomed to assemble, but erected another house, and settled a pastor. The church were possessed of property, the income of which had been for sometime nearly sufficient for the support of a pastor. This property had been under the control of the deacons according to the law of the state, and the title of the church to the property was supposed to be as safe, as the title of any corporate body whatever to their property. But a few members of the church, who continued to worship with the parish in the old meeting house, claimed to be the *first church* in Dedham. They passed a vote of removal against the deacons, who were with the majority, chose two new deacons, and made claim, through them, to all the property belonging to the church. This claim was sanctioned by the Judges of the Supreme Court, and final judgment entered at the October term in 1820.

The following paragraphs are from the opinion of the whole court given by Chief Justice Parker: "It appears to us clear from the constitution and laws of the land, and from judicial decisions, that the body, which is to be considered the *first church* in Dedham must be the church of the *first parish* in that town, as to all questions of property which depend upon that relation. If a church may subsist unconnected with any congregation or religious society, it is certain that it has no legal qualities, and more especially that it cannot exercise any control over property, which it may have held in trust for the soci-

* See Massachusetts Term Reports, 9, 277, Burr vs. the inhabitants of the first parish in Sandwich.

ety with which it had been formerly connected. The secession of the whole church from the parish would be an extinction of the church ; and it is competent to the members of the parish to institute a new church, or to engraft one upon the old stock if any of it should remain ; and this new church would succeed to all the rights of the old, in relation to the parish. The only circumstance which gives a church any legal character, is its connection with some regularly constituted society ; and those who withdraw from the society cease to be members of that particular church, and the remaining members continue to be the identical church. Probably in the early history of this country there was no very familiar distinction between the church and the whole assembly of Christians in the town. We have had no evidence that the inhabitants were divided into two bodies, of church and society or parish ;—keeping separate records, and having separate interests ; but if the fact be otherwise than is supposed, there is no doubt that most of the inhabitants of the town were church members at that time.”

These decisions have not been acquiesced in, we believe, by the great majority of the religious people of this commonwealth. In opposition to the opinion of the judges, the following facts and arguments have been adduced. In the first place, it is to be observed that *churches* are *bodies corporate*, though perhaps, in some parts of the country existing without a formal act of incorporation by the legislature. Such an act is not necessary to their existence as corporations. Bodies may become corporate by mere prescription, and without an express act of incorporation, and they are often recognized as such by the supreme authority. Many towns have become incorporations in this way.* The churches of Massachusetts were early in the possession of corporate rights and powers. They were gathered and organized according to law. They assessed and collected taxes of their members and others, for the building of meeting-houses and the support of ministers. They were virtually incorporated, by the legal acceptance and approval of the Cambridge platform. By a law of the province passed 28th George II, and re-enacted in part by this commonwealth Feb. 20, 1786, since the adoption of the constitution, *churches* are constituted corporations to receive donations, to choose a committee to advise the deacons in the administration of their affairs, to call the

* Upham's *Ratio Disciplinæ*.

church officers to an account, and "if need be to commence and prosecute any suits touching the same."* In the second place, there was a marked distinction in the early settlement of this country between the church and the congregation or parish. Of the company, who commenced the first settlement of Salem, 350 in number, only *thirty* were communicants. The church in Boston commenced with but four members; that in Cambridge with but eight. Thomas Lichford, a discontented attorney, who visited this country in 1637, said on his return to England, doubtless with some exaggeration, "Most of the persons at New England are not admitted of their church, and therefore are not freemen." In 1646, the number not connected with the churches, who petitioned the British parliament for a redress of grievances, were represented as amounting to *thousands*. In the third place, a church can subsist without any religious community to which it is attached. In the act of 1641, respecting the gathering of churches, no mention is made of their being connected with parishes or towns. In the acts of 1642, 1646, 1658, and 1754, we find no reference to parishes or towns. The original church at Plymouth came into the country in an *embodied* state. The first church, the Old South church, and the first baptist church of Boston, were organized in Charlestown. The first church in Dorchester was formed at Plymouth in England, and removed in a body to this country. This same church afterwards removed from Dorchester to Windsor, Conn. The first church at Cambridge removed to Hartford. Individual church members were left behind, but they were not reckoned the churches. Chief Justice Parsons in the Sandwich case, affirms that the "members of a church are generally inhabitants of the parish; *but this inhabitancy is not a necessary qualification for a church member.*" He also says that a church and parish are bodies *with different powers*. In the fourth place, the constitution secures to the churches the same rights which they had before. In the third article, the terms "*bodies politic,*" and "*religious societies,*" were understood at the time of the adoption of the constitution as referring to *churches*. Judge Sedgwick, (Mass. Term Reports, Vol. III.) says that "the mode of settling ministers has continued in every respect the *same*, since the establishing of the constitution, that it was before. The church call

* Monthly Anthology and Boston Review, Nov. 1806.

the minister ; the town, at a legal meeting, concur in the invitation, and vote the salary ; and the minister, after solemn consideration, accepts the invitation." The acts of 1800 and of 1834, provide that "the churches shall enjoy all their *accustomed privileges and liberties*."

We have thus briefly alluded to this subject, not for the sake of any denominational feelings, for all the religious sects are alike concerned in these decisions of the Courts.—We have no desire for controversy. We believe that the rights of the churches have been taken away from them ; and we also believe that the matter ought to be held up to the attention of all the people of the commonwealth, till those rights are restored. We do not ask for the church the power to choose a minister for the parish, or the power to hold or control parish property. We only ask that the church may exercise those rights, which are secured to her by our constitution and laws—those of electing her own pastor and controlling her own funds.

The inferences and conclusions deducible from the facts and statements presented in the preceding article, we must postpone for the present. It is a fruitful subject, and worthy of the most attentive consideration.

ARTICLE III.

ON EXPOSITORY PREACHING AND THE PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GUIDE US IN THE EXPOSITION OF SCRIPTURE.

By C. E. Stowe, Prof. of Biblical Lit. in Cincinnati Lane Seminary.

By Expository Preaching I understand that kind of popular religious instruction in which the sentiments and emotions of the sacred writers are exhibited in the language of the preacher. Some complete paragraph, or a series of connected paragraphs, is selected from the Bible—the course of thought is traced out, the meaning developed, the illustrations explained, the sentiments enforced and applied by such remarks as naturally arise from the text ; and the preacher stands before his audience not as an orator, priding himself on the originality and brilliancy of

his own conceptions, but as a humble and fervid interpreter of the will of God—whose leading object it is to communicate to those that hear, *the grace of God which bringeth salvation*.

Philosophical, occasional, and hortatory preaching, are not to be neglected by those who would *commend themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God*; but expository preaching should hold the prominent place, and furnish a foundation for all the rest.—The exclusively philosophical or hortatory preacher is apt to become like the spider, “which” (as my Lord Bacon saith) “spinneth her flimsy web, entirely from her own bowels.” While the expository preacher like the bee extracts the honey from the various flowers which grow in the garden of God, and prepares it for the sustenance and pleasure of man.

The expository was the prevailing mode of preaching with the apostles, and in the primitive church. The apostles preached not themselves, but Christ; that is, they told their hearers who Christ was, what he had done, taught, and suffered, and their simple narrative of the deeds, teachings, and sufferings of the Redeemer, enforced by that deep eloquence of nature which springs from strongly excited benevolence, became the *power of God, and the wisdom of God unto salvation*. Afterwards, when those narratives were committed to writing, the teachers of the primitive church in their public instructions, read entire portions of the sacred Scriptures, and in their addresses to the congregation followed the track of thought of the portion read, and enforced the sentiment by earnest appeals to the conscience and the affections. In the early Christian church, the mode of worship was derived from the synagogue, and in this the principal part of the service consisted in the audible reading of the Scriptures. It was a rule among the Rabbins that not less than twenty two verses of the prophets should be read in the synagogue at any one time. This indeed was Jewish superstition, but it was a higher principle than Jewish superstition which made the word of God the foundation and the model of public religious instruction.

We believe the Bible is the word of God, and that the wisdom of God was employed through many ages not only in communicating the sentiments of the Bible, but in causing them to be spread out on the page of inspiration in the form and manner best adapted to secure universal acceptance among men. The divine wisdom in the adaptation of means to the end, is no less strikingly manifested in the form in which the Bible is given,

than in its substance. It was not given at once and system-wise, but at *sundry times and in divers manners* (πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως), on purpose *that it might come home to the business and bosoms of men.*

The brief narrative, the pointed aphorism, the holy song, the living parable, are much more efficient in moving the majority of men, than the set argument or the formal statement. How then can we produce conviction better than by the Bible method? and how can we follow the Bible method better than by walking in the track of the Bible? Every minister who has made the experiment of a judicious and thorough exposition of some Biblical book in his public ministrations, has found this to be the mode of preaching most promotive of the growth of his own mind, and by far the best fitted to interest and edify his people. He finds that in this way he can disarm prejudice, and introduce an unwelcome thought without offence—that he can keep his own mind fixed on subjects so profitable and delightful that he loses all taste for “vain jangling, and strife about words, to no profit, but the subverting of the hearers.”

Whenever simple and earnest piety has prevailed for any considerable period, expository preaching has held a prominent place in public instruction—and in exact proportion as false doctrine, or dead orthodoxy has paralysed the energies of the church, has this sort of preaching been neglected.—The time of the reformation was exuberantly fruitful in exposition, and “by the sword of the Spirit which is the word of God” was that mighty victory achieved. Examine the discourses of Luther and Calvin, the two great heroes of that warfare, and more than two thirds of them will be found directly expository. And for all the expositors of the Bible, for clearness of conception, concentration of thought, transparency and precision of language, and a power of transferring the very spirit and soul of the sacred writers on to his own page, no one has ever yet equalled the great Geneva theologian. The unhappy theological dissensions which followed the reformation, turning as they generally did on abstruse points of false metaphysics, or on considerations of state or of party policy, together with the extravagancies of mystical interpretation, gradually withdrew the minds of ministers from the simplicity that is in Christ, and brought on the cold and the abstract, the harsh and denunciatory, the dreamy and sentimental modes of preaching, which have too much prevailed ever since. The times of reformation, and of persecution, and

of revival in Great Britain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were times of high biblical effort, and produced some of the noblest biblical scholars and expository preachers the world has ever seen; we need but mention such names as Selden and Milton and Lightfoot and Usher and Baxter and Howe and Leighton. The spirit of Bible piety we hope is now again reviving. Christians are again beginning to labor for the conversion of the world with sufficient faith in the divine promise to believe that "their labor will not be in vain in the Lord." The Bible is beginning again to assume its proper place as the sufficient and only rule of Christian faith and duty, and as such to be made the basis of religious instruction in the family and in the sabbath-school; and we hope the time is not far distant when it will hold its proper place as a text book of morals and religion in every stage of education, from the nursery to the professional institute. To keep pace with this growing biblical spirit, and to urge it forward, expository preaching must be revived.—And is there a minister of Christ whose soul does not exult in the prospect of engaging in so delightful a work? Let no one object that he cannot qualify himself for it because he has not the means to purchase an extensive library, nor time to turn over ponderous volumes. It is one of the distinguishing excellencies of biblical science, that if there be a love for the study, and diligence and perseverance in the prosecution of it, the greatest and most valuable attainments are within the compass of moderate means, and limited opportunities. Every minister who begins in season, can make himself acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek languages—and he can also afford to purchase a Hebrew and a Greek Testament with an appropriate lexicon for each, and a good reference Bible in English.—This is all the preparation, and all the apparatus absolutely necessary for the best kind of attainment in Biblical science. Even the itinerant missionary can carry this precious library in his portmanteau, or wagon-box, and make use of it in the scraps of time not taken up with other duties, while detained by storms, or retiring from the fatigues of constant journeying and excitement.

With these means let any one faithfully study the Bible in its original languages, let him compare book with book, narrative with narrative, chronology with chronology, and sentiment with sentiment; let him turn his thoughts within upon his own soul, and explore its *dark chambers of imagery* into which the Bi-

ble often flashes so startling a light, let him be watchful of the developement of character in all with whom he is thrown in contact, and compare the mode of these developements with the illustrations of human nature, which breathe and move on the living page of the Bible; let his eyes be open to the wonders of the physical creation, and let him compare the instructions which he there reads with what he finds in the written word; let him pursue this course with diligence, and perseverance and constancy, and he will find ready access to all the deep mines of inspired truth sparkling as they are with gems and precious ores on every side, and he will come forth to his people laden down with the riches of this divine treasury.

Let us now turn our attention to the investigation of the principles which should guide in the accomplishment of this important and delightful work.

1. Expository preaching should aim at direct moral effect.

A cold and formal delineation of the course of thought in a portion of the sacred writings, a heartless dissection of its words and phrases without the glow, and feeling, and high religious sensibility of the inspired penmen, without ardent love for the souls of men and an earnest desire to bring them to a knowledge of the truth, can answer none of the purposes of expository preaching. It is holding up a cold and mangled corpse instead of the warm and living body.

2. Expository preaching should be regulated by a knowledge of the depths of human nature and should touch the secret springs of the human soul.

The Bible itself is remarkable for these characteristics, and it is the greatest of mistakes to imagine that the Bible can be interpreted by a knowledge of words alone. No book has ever gone so deeply into all the windings and corners of the soul and touched so many of the vibrating chords of the heart. To think of spreading out the hidden glories of inspiration by the mere study of languages without the study of man, is like attempting to bring music from the organ by blowing the bellows without touching the keys. It is the lamentable mistake so frequently made on this point, that has often brought expository preaching into disrepute and disuse.

3. Expository preaching should be free from all appearance of pedantry.

If it be the object of the preacher to get a vain reputation for learning among people more ignorant and foolish than him-

self, he may be pedantic ; but if it be his object to do good he will avoid every appearance of this kind. No possible good purpose can ever be accomplished by it, and it is an odious clog, counteracting all good, even when attended with many excellencies. Those who have the least learning are generally most fond of its semblance ; and perfect simplicity is the unfailing characteristic of superior excellence. If a man cannot exhibit the results of learning without the appearance of pedantry, it is because his attainments have never been made his own.

4. Expository preaching should give accurate results, without a detail of the process by which they are obtained. In most cases the detail of the process, is not at all necessary to the developement and substantiating of the result. And when unnecessary it is tiresome and without utility to the learned, and to the unlearned utterly unintelligible and worse than useless. Yet, judging from the practice of some, they would seem to think that this is the very purpose of expository preaching ; they would lose the credit of their labor if they did not exhibit it in all its details, and so poor do they feel themselves that they cannot afford to lose one particle of credit which they think may be their due. Such should remember that biblical investigation is for utility, not for show. The thorough biblical scholar despises an artifice, and in a line of Milton, or a sentence of South you may often find the result of a most elaborate and learned investigation expressed in the fewest, simplest, and most unpretending words.

5. Expository preaching should be conducted on sound and severe principles of interpretation. Here is the greatest liability to failure, and this part of the subject we shall investigate with more care and minuteness than we have thought necessary in regard to the preceding topics. Extravagancies, and inconsistencies, and looseness of interpretation, destroy the value of expository preaching and render it positively injurious, giving wrong ideas of revelation, and driving some to infidelity, others to fanaticism.

What then are the true principles of interpretation to be applied to the Bible as a revelation from God ? To answer this question intelligently we must first settle the idea of revelation itself.—What, then, is revelation ?—To reveal is to make known something that was before unknown—and Divine revelation is the direct communication of truths before unknown from God

to men—Difficulty has frequently arisen on this subject from confounding revelation with inspiration.—As J. D. Michaelis remarks “the words inspiration and revelation are to be distinguished from each other; for the former (inspiration) has a more general meaning. While the latter (revelation) refers to those things only of which the sacred writers were ignorant before they were divinely taught. They who confound these words are accustomed to invent empty objections, as, how it were possible that things very well known to the sacred historians by ordinary means, should be revealed to them, which they pronounce to be absurd, as it well is; but yet the writers of the Bible might be moved by divine impulse to commit to writing matters with which they were before well acquainted, and these things might be so brought to their minds by the Holy Spirit that there should be no danger of erring.”

This distinction is in exact accordance with the declaration of our Saviour to his disciples (John 14: 26. 16: 12, 13,) where the two-fold office of the Holy Spirit of bringing to remembrance things before known by other means, and of revealing new truths, is clearly recognised—The word inspiration by the custom of speech includes both these operations of the Spirit, the word revelation only the latter. Accordingly revelation may be defined that act of the Holy Spirit by which truths before unknown are communicated to men—and inspiration the act of the Holy Spirit by which not only unknown truths are communicated but by which also men are excited to publish truths for the instruction of others, and are guarded from all error in doing it.—Thus it was revealed to the ancient prophets that the Messiah should appear, and they were inspired to publish the fact for the benefit of others. The affecting scenes at the cross of Christ were not revealed to the Apostle John, for he saw them with his own eyes—(John 19: 35). But he was inspired to write a history of this event, and by supernatural guidance was kept from all error in his record. It is therefore true, as the apostle Paul affirms (2 Tim. 3: 16), that every part of the Bible is given by inspiration of God, though every part of the Bible is not the result of immediate revelation.

Let this distinction be carefully kept in mind, and many objections, which are often urged with great confidence against the inspiration of certain parts of the Bible, and many difficulties which honest minds sometimes feel, vanish at once.

For convenience' sake we call the whole Bible a revelation

from God, because most of the truths it contains were made known by direct communication from God, and could have been discovered in no other way ; and generally, it is only the incidental circumstances attending the communication of these truths that would be ascertained by the writers in the ordinary modes of obtaining information.

Inspiration therefore does not exclude diligent and faithful research on the part of the sacred writers (Luke 1: 1—4,) nor one sacred writer's quoting from another as (Micah 4. from Isaiah 2.) nor a sacred writer's making use of documents furnished by uninspired men for the ascertaining of facts (as the Book of Jasher and the Book of Jehovah's wars, Josh. 10: 13. Num. 21: 14,) nor the characteristic peculiarities of style and manner resulting from diversity of intellectual structure, education and other circumstances, such as we all observe when we compare Isaiah with Ezekiel, or John with Paul.

Having thus settled the notion of a revelation, we next inquire, what is essential to the perfection of a revelation? On this point difficulties often arise from the merely accidental association of ideas—many seeming to imagine that because the revelation itself is alleged to be perfect therefore there should be no accidental circumstances of imperfection attending its publication among men. But let us learn to distinguish the things that differ. What is a perfect revelation but perfect truth clearly communicated? In oral revelation the person who is the organ of communication may be young or old, elegant or rustic, his features may be beautiful or plain, his voice melodious or harsh, his manner easy, or awkward, his language ornamented or simple—and the perfection of the revelation not be in the least affected by any of these circumstances. In written revelation, then, is the form of the book at all essential to the perfectness of the revelation? or the binding? or the material of which the book is made? Must ink become unfading, and paper imperishable when used for the recording of a revelation, or the revelation itself become imperfect? Must writers, or copiers, or printers become exempt from human frailty so soon as they are employed about a book containing revelation? Must the manner and style of revelation be adapted to any particular set of circumstances, or conformed to any one standard of taste? In a book designed for general use, this would be obviously improper and absurd. The Chinese, the Esquimaux, the South Sea Islanders have as much right to claim

that the Bible should be throughout conformed to their peculiar circumstances and tastes as the Germans, the French or the English.

Revelation must bear the prevailing impress of the circumstances and tastes of the times and nations in which it was originally given. The Bible, however, though it bears the distinct impress of Asiatic manners, as it should do, is most remarkable for rising above all local and temporary peculiarities, and seizing on the great principles common to human nature under all circumstances.

In order to make a revelation perfect must its language be any other than human language? And if human language, is it not in itself necessarily imperfect language? The only question of any importance on this point is, can the meaning of revelation be accurately ascertained? We answer that the meaning of the Bible by the use of appropriate means can be ascertained with unfailing accuracy for all practical purposes, and these are the only purposes for which the Bible was given;—The language of the Bible is the language of men, otherwise it would be of no use to men. And it is to be understood just as all other human language is understood. It is addressed to the common-sense of men, and common-sense is to be consulted in its interpretation.

This is necessary because

(1) No human language has a distinct sound for every different idea. And the same word must have several meanings. In English for example the word *letter* has several different meanings; and which one is intended is always made plain to common sense by the connection in which it stands, and the nature of the subject to which it is applied.

“The child is learning its letters,”

“The merchant is writing his letters,”

“Dr. Johnson was a man of letters.”

Who that has common sense ever thinks of confounding the different meanings of the word *letters* in these three sentences? The same use of words occurs in the Bible, and the meaning is to be ascertained in the same way.

Again: Common sense is to be consulted in the interpretation of the Bible, because

(2) Language is sometimes figurative and sometimes literal, and the connection, and nature of the subject must always determine which sense is intended.

The bird *flies* into its nest,
A man flies into a passion.

Is there any difficulty in determining which sense of the word *flies* is intended in each of the above sentences? So when we say of a mass of lead, that it has great weight, the nature of the subject shows that we use the phrase literally and mean that the mass is very heavy, but when we say of the opinion of a judge that it had great weight, in deciding a legal question, the nature of the subject shows that we use the phrase figuratively, and mean that his opinion had great influence.

There is just the same sort of figurative language in the Bible, and it is to be understood by just the same means. As a further illustration of this point examine the first stanza of Gray's ode to Spring.

Lo where the rosy bosom'd hours
Fair Venus' train, appear!
Disclose the long expected flowers
And make the purple year—
The attic warbler pours her throat
Responsive to the cuckoo's note
The untaught harmony of spring;
While whispering pleasures as they fly
Cold Zephyrs through the clear blue sky
Their gather'd fragrance fling.

Here are as many figures as there are lines, and many of them as bold as any we find in the Bible, and yet how could the same ideas in any other way be expressed with so much clearness, vivacity and beauty? Figurative language is always not only more vivid and beautiful, but plainer, and more permanent than literal. For the objects of nature, from which the figures are drawn, remain always the same, while the meaning of words is perpetually changing. When the patriarch Jacob called his son Judah a lion's whelp, (Gen. 49: 9) he expressed a distinctive feature of his character in terms which could not then be mistaken, whose meaning no subsequent changes of language could ever obscure. Ideas, particularly, pertaining to intellectual and moral subjects, can seldom be expressed literally so as to be understood by the mass of mankind.

The language of common life abounds with figures; and the more illiterate and simple men are, the more frequent and free is their use of figurative language. This has always been re-

marked in respect to savage nations, and it is equally true of the illiterate classes among civilized people. Go among the common laborers and seamen of the Atlantic states, or the backwoods-men and boat-men of the West, and you will scarcely hear a literal expression. Almost every idea is expressed in the boldest figures. Hear an Ohio boatman bantering with his fellow, and if he threatens to put him into the river unless he is quiet, it is in language like this: "If you don't mind your eye, my sweet fellow, I'll spill you into the drink." Several causes combine to make the Bible particularly rich in figurative language. It is designed for common use and treats principally of moral and religious subjects which can be made plain to the commonest understanding by figurative expressions. It was written in the primitive ages, and among a simple people, and is the product of Asiatic mind, and on this account commends itself more readily to the common sense of men, and is less affected by those changes which take place in manners and language. But though figurative language is easily understood, it is also easily perverted; and most of the perverse interpretations of the Bible arise from the abuse of its figurative language, or of its terms whose meaning is ambiguous, till determined by the connection in which they stand. The difficulties of interpreting the Bible and the differences of opinion in regard to its meaning do not owe their origin to any intrinsic obscurity, but to habits of perverse interpretation, which unhappily have so long prevailed. The Bible is treated sometimes as if fancy and not reason were the proper organ to elicit its meaning; and at other times, because it is appealed to as authority, and the interpreter is not willing to yield a favorite opinion of his own, he adopts wrong principles of interpretation and talks about allegory, or the analogy of faith in order to force the sentiments of the Bible to a conformity with his own opinions. Every book interpreted in this manner must give rise to various and contradictory opinions.—While the Greeks interpreted Homer allegorically, there was as much controversy about his meaning as there is now about the meaning of the Bible. But so soon as men became willing to let Homer speak for himself, and to take him as he meant, controversy ceased. So soon as we adopt the same course in regard to the Bible, the same result will follow, and not before. I will endeavor to illustrate my meaning by a few examples. Our Saviour says, "I am the true vine." Who ever thinks of understanding this

literally? He also says, "I am the door." Who ever thinks of understanding this literally? And why are not those expressions to be literally understood? Because common sense teaches us that literally taken they are utterly unintelligible; but figuratively understood, they give just the meaning appropriate to the speaker's purpose. And does not common sense teach the same thing in regard to another declaration of the same speaker, viz., "This is my body?" How can this be literally understood without contradicting the evidence of the senses? Might not the Western Indian who worships a high rock, with equal propriety quote in defence of his idolatrous practice such passages as these: "Ascribe ye greatness unto the Lord, He is the Rock." (Deut. 32: 3, 4.) "Of the rock that begat thee thou art unmindful." v. 18. "Unto thee will I cry, O Jehovah, my rock," (Ps. 28: 1.) Christ says, knock, and it shall be opened. On such principles of interpretation we might assert that the salvation of men depended on their going about and knocking, no matter how or what, provided they knocked something that could be opened.

What absurdities would follow if men were to interpret the language of common life as they sometimes insist upon interpreting the language of the Bible. A man once found a friend with a bottle of wine before him and making a hideous noise. "What," said he, "my dear sir, are you insane?" "No," replied the friend, "but my physician tells me I must take wine and BARK." Was the *physician* to be blamed for the use of an ambiguous word, or the *patient*, for not applying common sense to interpret the prescription?

By interpreting the Bible on the same principles by which we intuitively interpret the language of common life, its true meaning would be easily ascertained, and contrarieties of interpretation avoided.

If the Bible is not to be interpreted by the common laws of language, the specific rules must be given for its interpretation either by the Bible itself, or by some other divine authority. But these rules, if understood at all, must be understood by the common laws of language; and how can it be any more difficult to understand revelation itself by the common laws of language, than it is to understand by this means the rules by which revelation is to be interpreted? Every where in nature we see the greatest results accomplished by the fewest instrumentalities; and in a revelation from the God of nature, we are not

prepared to expect a needless complexity of means. The Bible gives no such specific and peculiar rules for its own interpretation, and all analogy is against the idea of any such thing.

Again—if there be an authorized interpreter of the Bible, his interpretations must be understood by the common laws of language; and why can we not understand revelation itself by the common laws of language as well as the interpreter of revelation? What is the value of a revelation that cannot be understood without an authorized interpreter? And what is the use of an authorized interpreter to a revelation that can be understood without one? One or the other is certainly needless; and so needless an expenditure of means does not look like the simplicity of the divine economy in other things. The Bible gives no hint of any such power of authoritative interpretation, and reason rejects the whole theory as entirely repugnant to its own nature.

All theories of allegorical or infallible interpretation, are for the most part either the mere sport of fancy or an expedient for the getting rid of the plain meaning of Scripture, and the responsibilities which belong to men as free intelligent agents. The Bible was never intended to relieve men from the responsibilities of thinking, reading and judging—the labor of intellectual and moral action, but on the contrary to increase these responsibilities and call forth this action. It was never designed to pamper the soul in idleness, and raise it to heaven as lifeless matter is raised to heaven by a cord, but it was intended to rouse up all the energies of the soul, to promote its most healthful growth, and cause it to soar towards heaven spontaneously as the eagle rises on her own buoyant wing. Accordingly, wherever the Bible is the people's book, there is found an inquisitive, active, enterprising, and intelligent population. And wherever the Bible is withheld from the people, there is a corrupting mass of inactive, sluggish mind, ready to be trampled upon by the foot of every tyrant. God did not lay out the physical world with rail-roads and canals in every convenient direction—and cause habitations ready painted to spring out of the ground, like trees of the forest, and to every habitation provide a garden well supplied with all that might be necessary for the sustenance of a family. Without a necessity for the labors of agriculture, architecture, and the arts of life, the powers of man would never be developed. Why is not man as well provided for in infancy as the brutes? In those genial climes where there

is any approach to this condition, man, for want of exercise and effort, becomes almost a brute. The physical world is so arranged as to give the highest and most vigorous exercise to the intellectual and physical energies of man, and every part of this exercise is essential to his intellectual and physical development. So the Bible is adapted to give the highest exercise to the intellectual and moral powers of man, and were this exercise to be suspended, his intellectual and moral powers would never be developed, the Bible would cease to be a blessing, and man would sink to the brute. There is no good to be obtained by man without labor ; and least of all is spiritual good to be indolently obtained.

The preceding remarks are intended to establish the two following principles, viz.

1. The language of the Bible is human language, and is to be understood by the same means and according to the same laws by which all other human language is understood. And

2. The Bible has no need of a succession of authorized interpreters, and admits of no such thing ; but addresses itself directly to the practical reason and common sense of all mankind. In establishing these principles however, we must not forget two others which are equally important. They are these :

1. The Bible has some peculiarities which belong to no other book, and so far as these peculiarities are concerned, it has and must have, peculiar laws of interpretation. And

2. The writers of the New Testament are inspired and authorized interpreters of the Old. Still the common laws of language are never violated nor even encroached upon by these peculiarities, but words and phrases are always used which are appropriate to express the ideas intended. The three following are the principal peculiarities of Scripture to which I allude,

1. Relative perfection.

2. Prophecy.

3. Typical representation.

1. Relative perfection—by this I mean a perfection which is not absolute, as God is said to be absolutely perfect—but a perfection which has a reference to some particular end to be secured. As the language of the Bible is human language, it cannot be absolutely perfect,—it is in itself altogether imperfect—but yet the language of the Bible is perfect as respects its adaptation to the end to be secured by it, namely, the religious education of man as a free, intelligent, accountable being. So the Mosaic

institutions were not in themselves the best possible, for Christianity is certainly better; but they were the best possible for the times and circumstances to which they were adapted. They were not absolutely perfect, but perfect relatively to the end to be accomplished by them, the preparation of the world for the gospel dispensation. The apostle declares that "the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did," (Heb. 9: 19,) and that "the law was our school-master to bring us to Christ," (Gal. 3: 24,) and that "before faith came we were kept under the law," "shut up to the faith which was afterwards to be revealed," (v. 23). After we have proved the Bible to be a perfect revelation in the sense above explained, we have two peculiar laws of interpretation which apply to no other books.

1. We are not at liberty to criticise the ends which God proposes to himself in the Bible, nor the means by which he accomplishes them. but we are simply to ascertain what these ends and means are.

2. We are not at liberty to infer real contradictions between different writers of the Bible—but where there is an apparent contradiction we are to suspend our judgment, investigate anew and seek modes of conciliation.

Neither of these rules, as is easily seen, affect the laws of language; but they merely regulate the inferences which we derive from meanings ascertained in the usual mode. In regard to the apparent discrepancies and real diversities between the four Evangelists, Chrysostom has the following very sensible remarks: "This very thing is the greatest proof of truth; for had they agreed with exactness in every point, even to time and place, and very words, no one of their enemies would have believed that they had not been together, and written what they wrote by some common collusion; for so great symphony does not belong to simplicity. But now the seeming discrepancy in minute things clears them from all suspicion and strikingly vindicates the character of the writers. We think it meet that you should narrowly observe this, that, in principle and in things pertaining to life and doctrine, no one can anywhere find the least dissonance among them." (Pref. to Matthew).

2. Prophecy. If prophecy were merely anticipated history we should need no peculiar laws of interpretation—but this is not the fact. The costume and the symbols of prophecy are altogether peculiar and entirely different from the style and manner

of pure history. (Matt. 24: 29. Acts 2: 19—20). Moreover the prophets generally saw the events which they describe, actually transpiring before them, and were not told of them by narrative: They saw in extatic vision, near events and remote in juxtaposition—in space and not in time with the idea of succession merely, without exact chronology—as we see the stars in the firmament, all apparently at nearly equal distances from the eye; or as the towers of a distant city seem to the eye, spread out on the curve of the horizon, and to rise from the edifices between them and the observer. Time is designated in but very few instances, and then generally in a very enigmatical and peculiar manner. Two of the most remarkable instances are the seventy years' duration of the Babylonian captivity, (Jer. 25: 11, 12) and the seventy weeks, and the sixty two weeks that were to precede the coming of the Messiah. (Dan. 9: 24.) A careful observance of this principle will greatly aid in a right understanding of the prophets, and will show why they almost always speak in the present tense rather than in the future. Examine the following passages as illustrations.

Nahum sees the overthrow of Nineveh, and listens to the tumult occasioned by it. (Nah. 3: 1—3). Isaiah sees the revelations, the sudden surprise and the massacre of the Babylonians, (Is. 21: 1—9, 11, 12). So he sees the Babylonian king fall and go to Hades, (Is. 14: 7—12. Comp. also Hab. 3: 3—12. Rev. vi—xiii.) In accordance with this mode of prophetic vision remote events of the same kind are often intimately conjoined as though they were to occur in immediate connection—and the prophets themselves could not always ascertain the time that was to intervene between them. (1 Pet. 10: 10—12). Thus Isaiah connects the coming of the Messiah, and the millennium, immediately with the Jewish deliverance from Assyrian oppression, (Is. x, xi. Comp. Matt. 4: 15, 16); and also the same events with the restoration from the Babylonian captivity. (Is. xl. et seq.) For other examples, compare Joel 2: 27 with Acts 2: 17, and Zech. 9: 9, 10 with Matt. 21: 5. So Christ according to the universal rule of prophecy connects the day of judgment immediately with the destruction of Jerusalem—predicting the latter in Matt. x. xiv., and the former Matt. xxv.

In the prophetic peculiarities also it will be perceived there is no violation of the laws of common language. It is with the thought and not with the words that these peculiarities are connected.

3. Typical representations. God proposed the whole plan of revelation to himself from the first, and seeing the end from the beginning, made the old dispensation preparatory to the new, and prefigurative of it. (Col. 2: 17.) This holds true in reference to prophecy. Sometimes one person or event is taken as the representative or type of some more remote, and still greater person or event; and language is used in regard to both, the whole of which can be applied to neither separately. Thus in 2 Sam. vii. (comp. Heb. 1: 5,) Solomon (the son and successor of David) and the Messiah—the Hebrew temple and Christian church—are blended together in prophetic vision. To this peculiarity of typical prophecy, Lord Bacon refers when he speaks of a latitude which is agreeable and familiar unto divine prophecy, being of the nature of their author, with whom a thousand years are but as one day; therefore they are not fulfilled punctually at once, but have *springing and germinant* accomplishment throughout many ages, though the height or fulness of them may refer to one age. (Advancement of Learning, Bk. II.) In this way many of the Psalms are obviously understood by the writers of the New Testament as having a two-fold reference—Psalm xvi. compared with Acts 2: 25—31. 13: 35. Ps. xxii. comp. with Matt. 27: 35—50. Ps. viii. with Heb. ii, Ps. xlv. with Heb. 1: 8. This principle of one person being taken as the representative or type of another is so clearly recognized in the Bible that even proper names are sometimes interchanged. Thus John Baptist is called Elijah, (Matt. 4: 5. comp. Matt. 11: 14); and Christ is called David, (Ezek. 34: 23, 24).

Events as well as persons may be typical and prophecies uttered concerning them in the same way, (Is. 7: 14—17. comp. Matt. 1: 22, 23). This twofold reference of prophecy might be sometimes obscure or even unknown to the prophet himself, (John 11: 50, 51). It was a Jewish principle that nothing would occur under the new dispensation which had not its corresponding outline in the old, and as to the Hebrew priesthood and temple, we have the best evidence for asserting that they were in all their details prefigurative of the different parts of the Christian system. (Heb. 9: 17—20.)

Indeed, I do not see how any one who admits that the writers of the New Testament are inspired, and authorized interpreters of the Old, can deny that there is a twofold reference in the predictions of the Old Testament, and a typical meaning

in its institutions. The extravagancies of double sense, allegories, and types, surely constitute no sufficient reason for the rejection or the concealment of a plain matter of fact. The best rule which I have seen for the interpretation of types is the following, selected from bishop Marsh's *Theological Lectures*. (Part III. pp. 113, 117.)

"To constitute one thing the type of another, as the term is generally understood in reference to Scripture, something more is wanted than mere resemblance. The former must not only resemble the latter, but must have been designed to resemble the latter. It must have been so designed in its original institution. It must have been designed as something preparatory to the latter ; the type as well as the antitype must have been preordained—and they must have been preordained as constituent parts of the same general sphere of divine providence. It is this previous design, and this preordained connection which constitute the relation of type and antitype. Where these qualities fail, where the previous design, and preordained connection are wanting, the relation between the two things, however similar in themselves, is not the relation of type and antitype."

"For example—cardinal Bellarmine supposes that the protestant secession under Luther was typified by the secession of the ten tribes under Jeroboam. While the Lutherans with equal reason retorted that Jeroboam was a type of the pope, and that the secession of Israel from Judah typified not the secession of the protestants under Luther, but the secession of the church of Rome from primitive Christianity. But to whichever of the two events the secession under Jeroboam may be supposed the most similar, (if similarity exist there at all beyond the mere act of secession,) we have no authority for pronouncing it a type of either. We have no proof of previous design, and preordained connection, between the subjects of comparison ; we have no proof that the secession under Jeroboam was designed to prefigure any secession whatever."

The Old and New Testament both abound with historical illustrations which are often confounded with typical representation to the great hindrance of a right understanding of the Bible. To give a few examples :

1. Particular facts illustrate general principles—Deut. 25: 4. comp. 1 Cor. 9: 9, 10. Ps. xcv. comp. Heb. 3: 7—19. In this way the whole Israelitish history may illustrate individual christian experience.

2. Events illustrate events—Judges 7: 22. comp. Is. 9: 4. Num. 21: 9. comp. John 3: 14. Exod. xiv. comp. Is. 43: 16, 17.

3. Like circumstances are expressed in the same language. Is. 29: 13. comp. Matt. 15: 8. Jer. 31: 15. comp. Matt 2: 18. These and others of the same kind are neither types nor allegories, but simply historical illustrations, like that of Luther when he exclaimed to his despairing followers: "What! because you are embarked in the same ship with Christ, do you expect a fair wind and a smooth sea all the way? Nay, rather look out for storms and jeopardy, and that too while your master is asleep!" In all these cases the language is plainly to be interpreted by the common laws of language and the *things* only are typified or illustrated. There is in fact therefore, no case whatever in which the language of the Bible is not to be understood just like the language of all other books. It is the *thoughts* of the scriptures and not the *words*, that are important.

As regards types and allegories, we know of none except those which are explained as such by the Bible itself. All the rest are merely conjectural, and though often ingenious, are often worse than idle, leading the mind away from the truth, perverting it by false principles of interpretation and making it the mere sport of every wild fancy. Any one who wishes to see to what a pitch of extravagance this thing can be carried, will do well to consult "Swedenborg's true Christian Religion," particularly pp. 168, 172, 202, of the Boston edition. Many of the interpretations there remind us of the old commentator who thought that the lily-work around the bellies of the pillars in the temple (1 Kings 7: 22.) signified that if ministers would do their duty and be pillars in the church, the Lord would take care of their bellies.

I have thus endeavored to illustrate some of the more important principles which should guide us in the popular exposition of Scripture, and will conclude by remarking that if the ministers of Christ will diligently, perseveringly and honestly pursue this work, the time cannot be very distant when the dissensions of the Church shall cease, "the watchmen see eye to eye," and all who really love the kingdom of Christ will be diligently laboring to extend its boundaries to the uttermost parts of the earth. "The Lord hasten it in his time."—Amen.

ARTICLE IV.

ON THE ADAPTATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE MORAL
NATURE OF MAN.

By M. Hopkins, Prof. of Moral Phil. and Rhet. in Williams College.

CHRISTIANITY is a scheme which implies that supernatural aid is necessary for the renovation and spiritual perfection of man. Those who receive the doctrine of human depravity, recognize the necessity of such aid, and regard the fact that it is provided as evidence of a just knowledge of the wants of man, and of the divine wisdom by which Christianity is adapted to accomplish the glorious purposes which it proposes ; while those who do not receive this fundamental doctrine on which the necessity of the gospel is based, see in its offer only a ground for rejecting the system. But, supposing such aid to be given, it is evident that the mode of its operation and the manner in which its workings harmonize with those of the spirit of man without contravening the laws of free agency, must be obscure, and, perhaps, beyond the reach of the human faculties. "The wind bloweth where it listeth." While, therefore, we believe that supernatural aid is offered, and that this fact is an evidence of the divinity of the gospel, we cannot adduce in favor of the gospel any argument that will be generally impressive, from the wisdom with which this aid is adapted, in the manner of its operation, to the faculties of man, and the mode of his agency. On this subject we fear that writers of the present day, in the ardor of controversy, and in the pride of metaphysical acumen, too often subject themselves to the rebuke, "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge."

But between the mind of man and the gospel itself, its doctrines and its precepts, we *can* trace the relations, and discover the harmony. Here we stand on firm ground. We are familiar with the argument by which the course of nature is shown to be of God, and standing on this ground, our argument for the divine origin of Christianity is analogous to that, and it stops in the latter case precisely where we are compelled to stop in the former. In the organization of nature we see a wonderful adjustment of parts, but we feel the necessity of some power which

is above nature to operate in conformity with its laws, or perhaps we should rather say, to constitute by its operations those laws in conformity with which the whole is moved. Of the mode in which this power operates we are profoundly ignorant, and it is only in the adjustment of parts the relations of which we do understand, that we discover a skill which stamps upon the works which he has made, the signature of God.

Man has a determinate intellectual and moral constitution, and the relations of the gospel to these may be philosophically examined. On this ground we discuss the different theories of education; and could a mode be discovered which would, if followed, infallibly produce the highest intellectual culture, we should need no better evidence of the profound wisdom of him who projected it, and the theory of education would be complete. From our knowledge of the intellectual constitution we should be able to judge of the general tendencies and effects of such a system. So in our moral constitution, if a system is proposed the object of which is to bring that to the highest state of culture and perfection, we can judge beforehand of its adaptation to that purpose. We can see the adjustment and correspondency of parts, and tell how it would work if faithfully followed out. We believe the gospel to be such a system, and in examining it with reference to the moral condition of man, to which it must have a natural adaptation if it be from God, we think we can discover unequivocal traces of *his* hand who has made all things in nature by weight and measure. It is from a feeling of this adaptation, from a sense that it just meets the wants of man, rather than from an examination of external evidences, that the gospel is received by the most of those who embrace it, and by which, though they do not speculate on the subject, they obtain a conviction of its genuineness which nothing can shake.—They have the witness in themselves.

This subject has been dwelt upon by some master minds, and we would particularly acknowledge our obligations to Erskine for some valuable suggestions respecting it; but still we think it has not received the attention which it deserves. It may not be the best adapted to impress the vicious or the confirmed infidel; but for the conviction of him whose moral susceptibilities are still unimpaired by vice or the wilful perversion of evidence, for the confirmation of the wavering, for the revelation to the less thoughtful Christian of the hidden springs of his own peace and exceeding joyfulness, it would seem to be admirably fitted.

In the hope that these effects may be produced upon some at least of our readers, we shall pursue the subject.

It is through its influence on the character that the gospel affects the destiny of man, and the first point which we shall notice is its consistency with itself, and its consequent tendency to produce an uniform and vigorous impression on the character. It has been justly made the test of the reasonableness of a religion that the facts, or, which is the same thing, the doctrines which it reveals should have a tendency to produce the same character which its precepts require. If a doctrine has not this tendency it is of no use ; if it has a contrary tendency it is worse than useless. In this respect the gospel will bear a scrutiny which withers the pretensions of every other system. Its precepts are not mere detached maxims without authority ; they are the arm of embodied truth laying hold upon duty ; the explicit requirement of those duties which naturally and necessarily result from the facts which it reveals. Wherever we stand, in whatever light we view it, it always turns the same solemn and searching eye upon us. But when the fact was taught in an ancient system, that Venus, to whom temples were erected, and who was worshipped, was licentious, it did not accord with what was required to be done in the preservation of purity ; and no precept could countervail the influence of that fact. When it was taught that Jupiter, the supreme god, abused his father, and expelled his son from heaven with passion and violence, it did not accord with what was required to be done in taking care of aged parents, and in exercising tenderness towards children. When Mohammed taught that paradise would consist in an unlimited indulgence in sensual pleasure, it had a direct tendency to counteract the principle of temperance which he endeavored to inculcate. When the papist is taught that indulgence to sin can be purchased by penance or money, the doctrine is at war with the precept that he should be holy. From inconsistencies like these, no false system is free. But when the gospel requires us to be kind and forgiving towards others, it at the same time teaches the fact that God is kind to the evil and to the unthankful, and that he forgives us ; when it requires us to be merciful, it tells us that our Father who is in heaven is merciful ; when it requires us to be pure in heart, it teaches that God is holy, and that there is a heaven into which there shall nothing enter which defileth or worketh abomination ; when it requires us to be beneficent, it informs us that Jesus Christ

"went about doing good ;" when it tells us to "walk in love," it announces the great fact that "God is love." We need not enlarge. It is sufficient to say that no inconsistency similar to those mentioned above can be found in the gospel. We challenge infidels to produce one. It is in this respect consistent with itself.

But the gospel is adapted to produce a uniform impression not only from the consistency of its doctrines with its precepts, but also from the consistency of its minor precepts with its fundamental principle. This point, though not often noticed, is worthy of attention. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself," is the substance of the law, and the ultimate and immediate requisition of the gospel. It is the object of the gospel to bring men to this—if it were not, the law and gospel would be at variance. But this rule, this law, is the great edict for moral beings, and was originally intended for those who were perfect. In the intercourse of such beings, love, which is the fulfilling of the law, is comparatively easy. There is in heaven no precept that when they are smitten on one cheek, they shall "turn the other also." But there are in the gospel a multitude of precepts intended to regulate, in the spirit of this rule, the intercourse of beings inclined to inflict upon each other injury and depredation. The question then is, whether, in order to meet the apparent exigencies of the case, in order to conciliate to itself human prejudice or passion, it ever does, in any of these subordinate precepts, depart from its high requisitions, or abate any thing from the integrity of its original and fundamental principle. We know the opposition it encountered, and that the true ground of that opposition was the uncompromising purity which it required. There was then the strongest temptation, if not to Christ himself, yet to those who succeeded him, to dilute this original principle, and soften down their requirements, lest they should incur the charge of inculcating an impracticable morality. Have they done this? In no case have they done it. There are no Jesuitical exceptions or reservations. Not only was Christ consistent with himself in his minor precepts, but the apostles, who acted by his authority, were in every instance true to their trust, and no stronger proof could be given, not only of integrity, but of wisdom. Nothing but the most perfect integrity could have adhered to the law in all its breadth, and nothing but a divine wisdom could have accommodated it to the very peculiar cir-

cumstances of man in this world. Love is the basis of the law, and we have only to cite the precepts of the gospel to show how the same spirit runs through them all without making any exception for unjust treatment. With a voice imperative and unfaltering, and with the same apparent unconsciousness of uttering any thing extraordinary with which its mightiest miracles are narrated it says, "Love your enemies; bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you—bless them which persecute you, bless and curse not." "Recompense to no man evil for evil." "If thine enemy hunger, feed him." "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." "All bitterness, wrath, anger, clamor, evil speaking, with all malice are to be put away, and whatsoever things are true, honest, lovely and of good report, are to be pursued." In these two respects then, the gospel combines the consistency of truth, with that uniformity of impression which is necessary to its efficient action upon character.

But we observe again, that the gospel is adapted to the moral nature of man, because, while it encourages no austerity, it represses all licentiousness. To fix precisely the limits to which, for the best interests of the individual and of the community, the appetites should be restrained, requires a knowledge of the human frame, and of the relations of society, which no philosopher, unenlightened by the Bible, has ever shown. We need not say how essential it is to the moral and religious character of any community that these limits should be rightly fixed. If there is too much restraint, society becomes secretly and often hopelessly corrupt; to other sins the guilt of hypocrisy is added, and sanctimonious licentiousness, the most odious of all its forms, becomes common. If there is too little restraint, vice walks abroad with an unblushing front, and glories in its shame. The state of the ancient heathen world is described by the Apostle in the 1st of Romans, and according to the testimony of all impartial travellers, that chapter is true to the letter, of the heathen of the present day. Nor were the ancient philosophers much in advance of the common people. Socrates speaks of unnatural crimes without censure, and a discourse of his with Aspasia, a celebrated courtesan of Athens, is still extant in which he instructs her how to gain admirers. When we hear such facts we more correctly appreciate what the gospel has done for domestic purity and peace. The tendency of human nature to sensuality in some form is so strong, that no false re-

ligion has ever dared to lay its hand upon it in all its forms. Mohammed, it is well known, did not interfere essentially with the customs of his country in this respect; and in fact his highest rewards, all his motives to religious activity were based on an appeal to the sensitive, and not the rational and spiritual part of man. In instances not a few, the grossest sensuality has even been made a part of religion, and in almost all cases the voluptuary, especially if rich, has been suffered to remain undisturbed, or has been led to commute by offerings for indulgence in vice. There have, however, always been some who have recognized the higher nature of man, and have felt that there is something noble in the subjugation of the animal part of the frame. In their attempts to do this, they have been sincere; and among the catholics especially, under the influence of the high motives of Christianity, some have succeeded. But they have been excessive; instead of regulating the appetites, they have attempted to exterminate them, and the mass of their followers have been ambitious, corrupt and hypocritical. But not only have men framed systems of religion which allowed of sensuality, not only have they attempted to subdue the animal nature altogether, they have also engrafted sensuality upon selftorture. There is in man a sense of guilt, and connected with this, the idea has been almost universal, that suffering, or personal sacrifice, had, in some way, an efficacy to make atonement for it. Hence the costly offerings of heathen nations to their gods; hence their bloody rites, the offering up of human victims, and even of their own children. But when even the principle was established that personal suffering could do away sin, then a door was opened for license to sin; and hence the monstrous and apparently inconsistent spectacle so often witnessed, of sensuality walking hand in hand with selftorture.— This system was carried to its greatest extent by the Roman church, and gave rise to affected sanctity, to priestly domination, and to secret corruption, unparalleled in the history of the world.

In opposition to these corruptions and distortions, how simple, how clearly in accordance with the original institutions, and the evident intentions of God, are the principles of the gospel! Christ assumed no sanctity in indifferent things, such as that by which the Pharisees sought to distinguish themselves. He swept away without hesitation or compromise, the Rabbinical superstitions and slavish exactions which had been engrafted on

the Jewish Law. He came, "eating and drinking;" he declared that that which entereth into a man doth not defile him; he sanctioned marriage, and gave it an honor and a sacredness little known before by declaring it an institution of divine origin, which was appointed in the beginning. While he did this, he did not yield at all to the prejudices and views of the age, but forbid all impurity, even in thought. He laid the axe at the root of the evil by placing his commands upon the heart. The same doctrines are inculcated by the Apostles. Paul asserts in relation to meats, that every creature of God is good, and to be received with thanksgiving, and says of marriage that it is honorable in all; while at the same time he ranks drunkenness, and gluttony, and impurity among those sins which will exclude a man from the kingdom of heaven. He was a preacher of temperance as well as of righteousness and a judgment to come, and insisted upon that temperance 'in all things.' The precepts of Christianity on this point are indeed adapted to the domestic, the civil, and the economical condition of man; but it is because of their bearing, indirect if you please, but still powerful, upon his moral character and condition, that they are now examined.

The precepts just considered bear indirectly upon the state and expansion of the natural affections of kindred and friendship, and we remark that the gospel is adapted to our moral nature, because, while it encourages these, and does not condemn grief as a weakness, it yet affords the most effectual consolation when those affections are sundered by death. In this respect it stands contrasted not only with the selfish Epicureanism by which the heathen so brutified themselves that they became, as the Apostle says, 'without natural affection;' but especially with the proud spirit of Stoicism. We see in the Stoics the operation of the same principle which was mentioned above, an attempt to destroy that which they knew not how to regulate. To do this they were obliged to deny their own nature, and to affect insensibility when it was impossible that man should not feel. It was indeed a hard task which this system imposed upon its votaries, to feel the cold hand of death grasping those warm affections which are so deeply rooted in the heart, and withering them up and tearing them away, and yet shed no tear. They were driven to this, because they could find no consolation in death. They knew not the rod or him who appointed it; but assumed an attitude of sullen defiance, and

steeled themselves as well as they were able, against the bolts of what they deemed a stern necessity. This system, indeed, was not favorable to the growth of the natural affections at all; and many who adhered to it refused to enter into any intimate alliances, or suffer them to expand. But to destroy these affections in which we find the beauty and the fragrance of existence, would be a sad dismemberment of our being. The gospel does not so; nor yet does it nourish affections which must bleed without furnishing a balm to heal the wound. It is indulgent to our weakness, and never sneers at the natural expression of sorrow. "Jesus wept." Surely, if we except our own deathbed, there is no place where we so much need support as at the deathbed of a friend, and the religion, or the system, the stoicism, or the skepticism which fails us there, is good for nothing. This is a weak point in our nature, and it is just here that the gospel comes in with its strong supports. This it does, 1st by the sympathy which it provides, for it not only supposes those who are afflicted to weep, but it commands others to weep with them. 2nd, By teaching us that our afflictions are brought upon us by a wise and kind Parent, and not by a blind fate. 3d, By the blessed hopes which it enables us to cherish. "We sorrow not as those who have no hope, for if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him." And 4th, by encouraging and enabling us to fix our affections upon a higher and better object. So long as we have something to love, something in which we can trust, we are not entirely desolate. The gospel furnishes us with an object which cannot fail us. It suffers the affections to shoot out their tendrils here upon the earth, as vigorously as they may, but it trains them up, and trains them up, till it fixes them around the base of the eternal throne. Then, if these lower tendrils are severed, they do not fall to the dust to be trampled on, and wither, and decay, till our hearts die within us; they fix themselves the more firmly to their all-sufficient and never failing support. It is easy to see that these circumstances must make the valley of affliction far less dark than it once was. To the true Christian, there is light all the way through it, there is light at the end of it. Thus the gospel aims at no heights of Stoicism. It neither uproots nor dwarfs the affections on the one hand, nor does it on the other leave them to the wild and aimless paroxysms of a hopeless sorrow; but it encourages them, and in affliction, gives them the support which they need.

It has just been said that the gospel furnishes a permanent object for the affections; we now remark that it is adapted to our moral nature, because it furnishes them with one that is perfect. If the gospel is what it purports to be, a system by which man can be brought to entire holiness, and perfect happiness, it is obvious, with reference to the attainment of both those ends, that it must offer a perfect object to the affections. If God were not perfect as a holy being, he certainly could exert no moral influence upon his creatures to render them more holy than himself, and he would not, if that were possible, exert a physical influence for that purpose. There would be in God nothing transforming to his creatures beyond the point at which he himself was; and the process mentioned by the Apostle must terminate before it reached its consummation. The process is this, and the statement of it involves an important principle of the gospel. "For we all, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." As water cannot rise higher than its source, so it would seem self-evident that no created or derived being, can, in any thing, transcend its Creator or source. If therefore the gospel is to bring our moral powers to perfection, it would seem necessary that the affections should rest upon a perfect object, otherwise they could never be transformed. This object is presented only in the God of the New Testament, and the God of love.

But if a perfect object for the affections is requisite to holiness, so is it to happiness. Our own experience will teach us this. When a relative or friend, upon whom we have fixed our affections, has many excellencies, we love him more, and are made more happy by him, than if his excellencies were fewer; and if at any time we discover an imperfection or a fault which we had not suspected, our happiness is sensibly diminished. So far as our affections have any thing moral in them, our complacency and delight in their object must be just in proportion to his excellence. So far therefore as the affections are concerned, the happiness derived from them cannot be complete, except as they rest upon a perfect being; but when their object is not only perfect but infinite and unchangeable, then is there provision, both for perfect happiness, and for its perpetuity and augmentation forever.

Not only does the gospel furnish the affections with a perfect object, but we remark again, that it is especially adapted to our

moral nature, because it sets before us a perfect model—because it embodies the abstract standard of excellence in actual life. Of what assistance such a model must be to us, may be seen from what occurs in other cases. In arithmetic, or algebra, when a rule is given, it really contains the method of solving every problem that falls under it; but there are few who do not, even in those exact sciences, derive essential aid in understanding what the rule means, and how it is to be applied, if they have models set before them in some examples actually wrought out. The same is true in every thing else, it is true in morals, it is true in religion—it is according to our nature that it should be so. The system therefore, which provides such a model, not only does a thing most difficult in itself, and one to which no other makes any pretension, but evidently conforms itself to the wants of our frame. This model is to be found in the character of Christ, which even the infidel must acknowledge to have been a remarkable phenomenon. We may say of him as was said by Pilate for a far different purpose, “Behold the man.”

The balance of his character was wonderful. We see him cultivating the most devotional habits, retiring whole nights into the mountain to pray, and yet so far from any thing austere or morose, that we see him taking up little children in his arms and blessing them; and having so just a taste for the beauties of nature as to prefer the lily of the field before the most costly trappings of art. We see him humble in his condition, but without the least meanness or servility; asserting in the strongest terms, his own dignity, but without arrogance; zealous in the cause of God, yet not resenting personal injuries; a decided reprover of wickedness, without asperity; insisting on the silent worship which is in spirit and in truth, yet giving their proper place to external observances, even to the tithing of mint; uttering the sternest principles of morality, and laying their authority on the heart, yet encouraging penitence in the parable of the prodigal son. We see him blessing the meek, comforting the poor, noticing the widow’s mite, rebuking zeal in his own cause when it did not arise from a pure motive, setting a little child in the midst of his followers and reproving their ambition; liberal and humane in his views in the midst of a nation of bigots, delivering the parable of the good Samaritan. All this was certainly remarkable, but to test his character by his own summary of the law of God, we would ask if he did not

love God with all his heart who could say in his greatest agony, thy will be done; if he did not love others as himself who could pray for his murderers on the cross. "Behold the man." The rules of conduct which he laid down are more difficult to be followed than any others ever promulged, and yet he is probably the only person who ever perfectly lived up to his own rules. The more we contemplate this character, the more it will grow upon us, till we see it, like the sun, standing alone. The exhibition of this model was a part of the system, and from what has been said, we can judge both of the difficulty of the undertaking, and of its necessity for the accomplishment of the end in view. General principles are vague and inefficient, but example strikes. Without it, mere precepts would never have fixed the attention of mankind, or been for them a sufficient guide.

Our next remark relates to the conscience; and it is that the gospel is adapted to our moral nature, because its facts naturally tend to quicken the conscience to activity in the fuller perception of guilt, at the same time that it relieves it from apprehension. The conscience being peculiarly that in man which is moral, a system which would induce moral perfection, must, of course, provide for its highest possible activity at the same time that it provides for its peace; and the system which provides for the peace of conscience by blinding or stupifying it, must be false. It is the object of every system to give in some way peace to the conscience, but the gospel is contradistinguished from every other, by its philosophic perception that the full activity of conscience is necessary to moral perfection, and by giving it new life at the same time that it gives it peace. All other systems either stupify it by falsehood, or blind it by substituting in the place of moral duties bodily penance or mere external observances. But how is it that the conscience is quickened by the facts of the gospel? It is by the standard and estimate of guilt which those facts establish. In human laws it is intended that the magnitude of the crime shall be measured by the amount of penal infliction, and it is by looking at the penalty that we ascertain the judgment of the lawgiver in regard to it. But the standard which the gospel has established by which to estimate guilt is to be found in the death of Christ. His death as an atonement for sin is the great central fact of the gospel; and in making *such* a sacrifice to furnish a ground of pardon God has shown, even more explicitly than by the sanc-

tion attached to his law, *his* estimate of guilt, and his inflexible determination to punish all who do not stand on the ground thus furnished. The death of Christ, therefore, when viewed as the Bible presents it, has, more than any thing else, a direct tendency to produce in the impenitent who is not "found in him," the deepest sense of guilt, and the most awful apprehensions. When he sees that God did not spare his own Son, when he sees the meek and irreproachable victim expiring under the hidings of his Father's face, while the sun is veiled, and all nature shudders; then it is, if any thing can arouse it, that his conscience stands aghast. Then it is that he sees expressed, plainly and irrevocably, the judgment of the Lawgiver, what he thinks of the evil of transgression, and how impossible it is that he should ever wink at, or suffer to pass unnoticed a single sin. Having presented such an estimate of the value of moral worth, such a standard of guilt, the gospel has done all that could be done to give life and activity to the conscience, thus fulfilling the condition philosophically required of it.

But the gospel does not come prematurely to arouse the conscience, and make it the minister of vengeance. In common with other systems it makes provision for its peace. This it does by the very same act that gave it the greatest alarm. It is by showing the trembling culprit through that act an ocean of mercy that can close unscarred over all his guilt and still look as bright and as joyous as ever. It is by setting before him a free course in the race after conformity to God which he can now run till he shall leave all guilt, all moral imperfection behind him, and shall sit down with the multitude of the redeemed under the canopy of the excellent glory which rests over the end of his course. It is here that the wisdom of the gospel is conspicuous. At this point a glory surrounds it. Here we exclaim with the apostle in regard to it—"The glorious gospel of the blessed God." Guilt is upon the soul. Can it be removed? Is there a balm that can staunch the wounds of a bleeding conscience, and leave them seamless? To the importance of an affirmative answer to this question, the sighs and groans of universal man testify. This question was agitated by the ancient philosophers, and Socrates, the wisest of them, thought it could not be done. Guilt is proud, justifying itself, and, knowing its own demerit, it is also distrustful. Can now the beneficent Father give his lapsed children any such pledge of his placability, as shall induce them to come voluntarily and stand in his pres-

ence with perfect assurance? The inquiry is not now, what it was necessary for God to do for the honor of his own government; but what was necessary to give assurance to man. Here was a call upon omnipotent love, and well did it answer the call. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son." "He who was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God, took upon him the form of a servant, and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." Thus, while the greatness of the sacrifice shows the enormity of the guilt and thus arouses the conscience, the very fact that it is made, furnishes the highest pledge that God could give, that he is ready to pardon. It shows that there is relenting in the heavens; that the heart of God is yearning over his lost children; that guilt can be forgiven and put forever away. Him whom this pledge cannot satisfy, nothing can satisfy. When man sees this, then the Sun of Righteousness rises upon him with healing in his beams; the dark clouds of guilt are dispersed, and the eye of hope, glistening with the tear of penitence, is turned towards heaven. Then, and not till then, can he stand assured in the presence of a holy God, and the conscience finds peace.

We have just shown how the wants of the conscience in reference to individual guilt are met by the gospel; we now remark that it is adapted to our moral nature, because it satisfies our natural sense of justice in reference to the disorders of this present world. This is a common topic, but we cannot, in justice to our subject, wholly omit it here. These disorders, in the height to which they have risen, have always presented a great moral enigma to those who have reasoned concerning the providence and moral government of God. This was strongly felt and strongly stated as long ago as the time of Job. "Some," says he, "remove the landmarks, they violently take away flocks and feed thereof. They drive away the ass of the fatherless and take the widow's ox for a pledge. They cause the naked to lodge without clothing, and they have no covering in the cold. They pluck the fatherless from the breast, and take a pledge of the poor. Men groan from out of the city, and the soul of the wounded crieth out: yet God layeth not folly to them." "Wherefore do the wicked live, become old, yea are mighty in power? Their seed is established in their sight, and their offspring before their eyes. They spend their days in wealth and in a moment go down to the grave." "The earth"

says he, "is given into the hand of the wicked: he covereth the faces of the judges thereof; if not," as much as to say, this fact must be allowed whether we can reconcile it with the providence of God or not—"if not, who, and where is he?" Thus was this wise and good man perplexed, before the light of the gospel. David found no relief under the same difficulty, till he went to the sanctuary of God and there saw the end of the wicked. "Moreover I saw under the sun," says Solomon, "the place of judgment, that wickedness was there, and the place of righteousness that iniquity was there. I said in mine heart"—then he said, when he saw this, as furnishing the only solution of the difficulty, "God shall judge the righteous and the wicked." Nor does the picture assume a brighter hue as we come down the ages of time. History is full of multiplied and aggravated and unredressed wrongs inflicted by man upon man. Look at the slave-trade, that atrocious, wholesale, and legalized abomination. Look at slavery as it exists now. Look at the peasantry of Europe—Look at Poland. Or, if we turn from the contemplation of open and high-handed violence, to consider the triumphs of injustice; the success of fraud; the spoliations and heartless atrocities which are effected under the forms of law; the wrongs, and cruelties, and petty tyrannies that are exercised in families, and embitter the lives of thousands, our difficulties will not be diminished. Surely to a thoughtful man without revelation, this world must present a most perplexing and discouraging spectacle. He must see that there are injuries for which there is no redress upon earth, questions unsettled for which there is no adjudication here; and while he has not satisfactory evidence that a time of adjudication will ever come, he must feel that a violence is done to his moral nature, if these questions are cut short by death, and left unsettled forever. To this state of perplexity, so natural and so universal, the gospel furnishes complete relief. It gives us the most positive assurance that these questions shall be carried up to an impartial tribunal; that every sigh of the oppressed has been heard in heaven; that every tear which they have shed has been exhaled, and has ascended there. It makes known to us the judge, and the rules and measure of the proceedings of the great "day of the restitution of all things." When this is known, the perplexed and agonized heart is set at rest. Then, and not till then, there is felt to be a congruity between the course of events as they shall ultimately terminate, and our moral frame,

and the wants of that frame are met. No other system reveals a fulfilment of justice so complete, and therefore no other is so perfectly adapted to the moral condition of man.

We next observe that the gospel is adapted to our moral nature, because, while it sets before us the highest possible objects of hope, it demands, and has a tendency to produce entire humility. To do this requires a very nice balancing of motives. There is not in our frame so active a vice as pride. All want implies privation, limitation, imperfection; and yet even in the manner of supplying our wants pride finds much of its aliment. Our want of food gives occasion to pride in luxurious living; of clothing, to pride in dress; of shelter, to pride in buildings; and our want of locomotion, to pride in carriages and equipage. Natural *gifts*, of body or mind, as beauty, strength, talents, wealth, even vice itself, any thing that gives pre-eminence, though it be a 'bad pre-eminence,' furnishes a spot where pride may fix its roots. If we repress it in one form, it is constantly rising in another; and especially is it like to do so when we have high hopes before us. The essence of pride as I now use the term, consists in a pleasure in superiority as such. But this implies a feeling of pain on the part of those who are inferior. Pride therefore, can never have a place in a holy and a happy heaven. If false religions have ever attempted to remove this, it has been by producing degradation and debasement, a low, crouching, servile spirit, instead of that childlike humility whose basis is truth, whose associate is wisdom, 'that dwells with the lowly,' whose crown is honor. But instead of repressing it, false systems have often appealed to this passion, and found in it their chief support. Look at the turbaned follower of Mohammed with his high hopes of a sensual paradise, and of every thing that nourishes pride here, and see with what scorn he treats, or rather did treat so long as he dared, the infidel dogs. Humility is not one of the virtues of that religion, and its natural tendency is to make man proud. But if a Christian is proud, it is in direct contravention of the facts, and precepts, and spirit of his religion. High as are the hopes which the gospel encourages, higher than any other religion ever dreamed of, it has yet an effectual antidote for pride. This is to be found, partly in the object itself of hope, which is moral perfection, likeness to God; and with that pride is utterly incompatible. But the chief antidote is to be found in the fact mentioned under a former head,—in the standard of guilt which the gospel sets up.

The penitent sees in that the judgment passed on his own character, he sees that it is not at all by his own procurement that he can avoid, either that character itself, or its natural consequences ; he looks at what he has done, and at what has been done for him, and wonders that any can ever be proud. The foot of the cross is the place for the Christian, but it is no place for pride. When he stands there, he sees indeed what a sure foundation stone God has laid in Zion upon which he may build his hope ; but precisely as that hope rises and becomes a glorious hope, will his egotism, his self-sufficiency, his pride, dwindle away. In fact, a death-blow must be given to pride before the hope of a Christian, the hope of salvation entirely by the merits of another, can find a place in the soul, and just so far as the spirit of the gospel triumphs, it must overcome and destroy pride. Thus we see that the gospel places the strongest possible check precisely there in our frame where it was most needed.

We remark once more, that the gospel is adapted to our moral nature, because it tends to produce active beneficence, at the same time that it represses self-gratulation. On this point it is not easy to compare Christianity with other systems, because no other system ever insisted on active beneficence in any thing like the same high terms. The gospel requires us to do good and only good, and this shows it to have originated in a God of love. It is matter of history that it has done more, and it is matter of fact that it is doing more to relieve the wants and mitigate the woes of the destitute and the wretched, than all other causes put together. If it be asked how it has had moral force to do this, we reply that it has had it ; 1st, from the example of Christ ; 2nd, from its imperative requisition upon all those who embrace it ; and 3rd, from its system of rewards. In this, the gospel is entirely original. It rejects all human works as a ground of salvation—it is all of grace, and yet it has a system of rewards. According to this system, men are to be rewarded, not *for* their works, but *according to* their works. This furnishes every motive to diligence. He who has done one act for Christ, from a sincere love to him, “ shall in no wise lose his reward ;” and he who has done two, shall receive a double reward. Thus benevolent activity is secured by the gospel, while self-gratulation is repressed from the fact that the reward is wholly gratuitous, and not of debt—that we can offer nothing to God which he can accept for its own sake. The saint in heav-

en who has done the most good, will cast his crown as low as he who has done the least ; but it will be a far brighter crown—a far more exceeding weight of glory.

Our last remark is, that the gospel is adapted to the moral nature of man, because it makes its chief appeals to a free and generous principle—the principle of *love*. The gospel, as has been said, professes to be a restorative system—to bring men back to moral perfection. In order to this, it was necessary to appeal to some principle which should induce constant activity and progress. He who gets some vague notions of danger and of mercy, and supposes he can take shelter behind the gospel, as a man runs into a fort, and then sit down at his ease, is ignorant of the very first principles of the gospel. Progress is a primary requisite, and if it does not induce and continue this, it does nothing. But in order to do this, to what principle shall it appeal? Shall it appeal, as fanatics often do, to fear? This is a strong principle, and has its use ; it is sometimes made the vestibule of love. But all fear has torment ; it can never be a part of love ; it can never be the regenerating or the transforming principle. The man who is travelling towards the home which he loves is happy, and he is active, and there is no slavery in his activity. It results from a free and generous principle, and one which is at the same time more powerful than any other. “Many waters cannot quench it, or floods drown it.” “Perfect love casteth out fear.” If, therefore, the gospel had not shown its knowledge of our frame by appealing chiefly to this principle, it would have been a failure. To show how this is done, we borrow an illustration from Erskine. “Let us present to ourselves,” says he, “a company of men travelling along the sea-shore. One of them, better acquainted with the ground than the rest, warns them of quicksands, and points out to them a landmark which indicated the position of a dangerous pass. They, however, see no great reason for apprehension ; they are anxious to get forward, and cannot resolve on making a considerable circuit to avoid what appears to them an imaginary evil ; they reject his counsel, and proceed onwards. In these circumstances, what argument ought he to use? What mode of persuasion can we imagine fitted to fasten on their minds a strong conviction of the reality of their danger and of the disinterested benevolence of their adviser? His words have been ineffectual ; he must try some other method. He does so ; for seeing no

other way of prevailing on them, he goes before them ; he steps on the seemingly firm sand, and sinks to death. This eloquence is irresistible. He was the most active and vigorous among them ; if any one could have extricated himself from the difficulty, it was he ; they are persuaded ; they make the necessary circuit, bitterly accusing themselves of the death of their generous companion ; and during their progress, as often as these landmarks occur, his nobleness and their own danger arise to their minds, and secure their safety. Rashness is not merely perilous now, it is ungrateful ; it is making void the death of their deliverer." Need we mention the parallel fact stated in the gospel, which so much transcends it ? It is that the Son of God, after having long warned men by the course of his providence, and by messengers deputed on purpose, seeing that nothing else would be effectual, came Himself also ; that he was made flesh, and devoted himself to death, thereby showing the greatness of his love and the certainty that no one who will not turn out of the course of which he has warned him can ever escape. And now, by directing that this great fact should be published every where, he has directed that his cross should, as it were, be planted by the strait of danger, that he may in the most effectual manner that he could devise, warn those who would pass heedless by, of *what lies beyond*. Surely that must be a fearful pass, to warn us from which Christ died. That must be an awful perdition to which those tend who go by the cross of Christ. Here we see, though danger is supposed, or love could not have thus manifested itself, yet that the direct appeal is altogether to gratitude and love. It was love which actuated Christ in dying for us ; it was love which actuated the Father in sending him ; and in the nature of the case it must be love, and love alone which can unite us to him and make us free and happy in his presence forever. God is love, and what but that should be the controlling principle of his children ? It is then by appealing to this highest, most efficient, free and generous principle that the gospel is conformed to the constitution of our moral powers.

We might pursue a similar train of thought on the adaptation of the gospel to the intellectual nature of man, and on its analogy to the constitution, and course of nature, which subject is not yet exhausted—but we forbear. We would simply inquire whether infidels have examined the ten particulars now enu-

merated. If they have not, where is their candor? If they have, how imbecile is the credulity which can suppose such a system to have been originated by the peasants and fishermen of Galilee!

ARTICLE V.

POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN RELATION TO THE INDIAN TRIBES.

By the Editor.

1. Speech of the Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, in the Senate of the United States, February 4, 1835.
2. Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs, of the House of Representatives of the United States, May 20, 1834, with the accompanying documents.
3. Report of the Secretary of War, with various documents, communicated by the president to Congress, December, 1834.
4. Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, October, 1834, with an Appendix.
5. Narrative of an Expedition, through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake, in 1832, under the direction of Henry R. Schoolcraft. New York 1834.
6. Lieutenant Wheelock's Journal of an Expedition made in the summer of 1834, from Fort Gibson into the country of the Pawnees and other North-western Indians, by a detachment of the U. S. troops, under the command of Col. Dodge.

THE policy of the government of the United States in relation to the Indian tribes, whatever may be our views in respect to its expediency or justice, may now be regarded as finally determined. As early as 1808, a part of the Cherokee tribe made a proposition to remove across the Mississippi, to some vacant lands of the United States, and there to "continue the hunter life." Accordingly, in 1817, they exchanged their lands east for lands west of that river. The Choctaw treaty of 1820, made to promote the civilization of the *eastern* Choctaw Indians, by the establishment of schools among them, and to perpetuate

them as a nation, by exchanging for a small part of their land a country beyond the Mississippi river, where all, "*who live by hunting, and will not work may be collected together,*" grants them a tract of land west of the river for that purpose. Neither of these cessions had in view the civilization of the Indians west of the Mississippi. In 1825, Mr. Monroe, in his message, and the Secretary of War, Mr. Calhoun, in his report, directed the attention of congress to a plan for the removal and civilization of the Indian tribes, by acquiring a sufficient tract of country west of the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas, in order to establish permanent settlements. It was proposed "to give them the strongest and most solemn assurances that the country granted them should be theirs as a permanent home for themselves and their posterity without being disturbed by the encroachments of our citizens." It was also suggested as proper, "to add to such assurances a system by which the government, without destroying their independence, would gradually unite the several tribes under a simple but enlightened system of government and laws." In 1826, a bill was proposed, substantially in accordance with these views, but it was not acted upon. On the 6th of May, 1828, a treaty was formed with the Cherokees, the preamble to which recites: "whereas, it being the anxious desire of the government of the United States to secure to the Cherokee nation of Indians, a *permanent* home, and which shall, under the most solemn guaranty of the United States, be and remain theirs forever—a home that shall never in all future time be embarrassed by having around it the lines, or placed over it the jurisdiction of a Territory, or a State, nor be pressed upon by the extension in any way of any of the limits of our existing territory, etc." By the 2d article, "the United States agree to possess the Cherokees 7,000,000 acres of land, bounded, etc., and to guaranty it to them forever, and in addition to the 7,000,000 of acres thus granted, the United States further guaranty to the Cherokee Nation a perpetual outlet to the west, and a free and unmolested use of all the country lying west of the western boundary of the above described limits, and as far west as the sovereignty of the United States and their right of soil extends." President Jackson, in his message to congress of Dec. 8th, 1829, recommends the removal of the Indians, and suggests the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, to be guarantied to the Indian tribes so long as they shall occupy it.

From 1820 to 1827, various efforts were made by the people of Georgia to obtain all the lands within the chartered limits of the State. In December, 1829, the legislature of Georgia asserted that the Cherokees had no title to their lands, and that they were simply tenants at will. Georgia had previously (December, 1828) passed an act to extend the laws of the State over the Cherokees after June 1st, 1830. The president, in his message of 1829, before referred to, stated distinctly that the Indians could not be protected against the operation of the laws of the individual States. Near the close of the session of 1830, the committees on Indian affairs, in both houses of congress made reports in favor of the removal of the Indians to the west of the Mississippi. A bill in accordance to the recommendation of these reports was introduced, and after a discussion rarely equalled in interest and importance, since the establishment of the government, passed the Senate, on the 24th of April, 1830, by a vote of 28 to 20, and the House, on the 26th of May, by a vote of 103 to 97. The principal opposition to the bill arose from the belief that the Indians had a perfect right and title to their lands on this side of the river, and that it was for them alone to say, uninfluenced and unsolicited, when and in what manner, they would exchange their lands for any other. Some members, who voted in opposition to the measure, were of opinion that it might ultimately be expedient for the Indians to remove.

Of the recent policy of Georgia, Mr. Clay thus speaks :—
“The Senate will perceive that the whole power of the State of Georgia, military, as well as civil, has been made to bear upon these Indians, without their having any voice in forming, judging upon, or executing the laws under which they are placed, and without even the poor privilege of establishing the injury they may have suffered by Indian evidence : nay, worse still, not even by the evidence of a white man !—Because the renunciation of their rights precludes all evidence white or black, civilized or savage. There then the Indian lies, with his property, his rights, and every privilege which makes human existence desirable, at the mere mercy of the State of Georgia ; a State, in whose government or laws he has no voice. Sir, it is impossible for the most active imagination to conceive a condition of human society more perfectly wretched. Shall I be told that the condition of the African slave is worse ? No sir, no sir. It is not worse. The interest of the master makes it at once his duty and his in-

clination to provide for the comfort and the health of his slave ; for without these he would be unprofitable. Both pride and interest render the master prompt in vindicating the rights of his slave, and protecting him from the oppression of others : and the laws secure to him the amplest means to do so. But who—what human being, stands in the relation of master or any other relation, which makes him interested in the preservation and protection of the poor Indian thus degraded and miserable ? Thrust out from human society, without the sympathies of any, and placed without the pale of common justice, who is there to protect him, or to defend his rights ?”

By the bill of June, 1830, it was enacted, “ that in making exchanges of territory, it shall and may be lawful for the President solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made, that the United States will forever secure and guaranty to them, their heirs, or successors the country so exchanged with them, and, if they prefer it, that the United States will cause a patent or grant to be made and executed to them for the same.”

Since this act was passed, several treaties have been concluded with emigrating tribes. By the Choctaw treaty of 27th of September, 1830, it is stipulated, “ that the United States, under a grant to be specially made by the president of the United States, shall cause to be conveyed to the Choctaw nation a tract of country west of the Mississippi river, *in fee simple*, to them and their descendants, to enure to them while they shall exist as a nation and live on it.” “ That the government and people of the United States are hereby obliged to secure to said Choctaw nation of red people, the jurisdiction and government of all the persons and property that may be within their limits west, so that no Territory or State shall ever have a right to pass laws for the government of the Choctaw nation of red people, and their descendants, and that no part of the land granted them shall ever be embraced in any Territory or State ; but the United States shall forever secure said Choctaw nation from and against all laws except such as from time to time may be enacted in their own national councils, not inconsistent with the constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States.” And “ the United States are obliged to protect the Choctaws from domestic strife and foreign enemies, on the same principles that the citizens of the United States are protected. By the Creek treaty, of the 24th of March, 1832, similar rights and privileges

are secured to the Creek Indians. A treaty to the same purport was formed with the Seminoles of Florida, May 9, 1832; with the Pottawatamies, October 26, 1832; and with the Chickasaws, October 20, 1832.

In 1832, three commissioners, Henry L. Ellsworth, M. Stokes, and J. T. Schermerhorn were appointed with general powers, to proceed to the Indian country both east and west of the Mississippi, and make definitive arrangements, as far as possible in respect to the location of the emigrating tribes, and the establishment of amicable relations with other bands of Indians. From their report, we learn that the country to which the Indian title has been extinguished west of the Mississippi, for the purpose of providing land upon which to remove the Indians from the east, is very extensive. It is situated between $33^{\circ} 30'$ and $43^{\circ} 30'$ north lat., and between $17^{\circ} 30'$ and 23° west long. from Washington. Its western boundary is the republic of Mexico; its northern the river La Platte; its eastern the western boundaries of the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas; and its Southern, the republic of Mexico. It is supposed to contain not far from 182,000 square miles, or about 116,480,000 acres. It is larger, by about 7000 square miles, than the whole of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. It will thus be seen that Mexico and the Rocky Mountains will be a barrier to prevent the formation of any State or Territory south or west of the Indian country. The commissioners suppose that the climate does not vary materially from that in the corresponding degrees of latitude in the Atlantic States, at some distance from the sea-board. From all which they could ascertain, they think that the country is not subject to any new or unusual diseases, but is visited by such as are common in the same parallels east of the Mississippi. They attribute the great mortality experienced among the Choctaw emigrants of 1833, to the effects of the cholera, to a change of diet, neglect of exercise, the want of medical assistance, and to the fatigues and fevers incidental to the first settling of a country. "Our limited observations," says major Long, "have led us to suspect that at equal elevations, the aggregate temperature, if at all different, is by no means more mild or equable on the western side of the mountains, in the valley of the Mississippi, than on the Atlantic coast, and in confirmation of this opinion, we are happy to cite the authority of Mr. Darby, whose opportunities for observa-

tion have been much greater than ours, he having spent sixteen years in the valley of the Mississippi."* In the heavy forests, the air is stagnant, and is so loaded with the effluvia of decaying vegetable substances as to be immediately oppressive to the lungs. It is not strange that various kinds of fevers prevail during the summer and autumn, and, in many instances, terminate fatally. The want of cleanliness, and the use of ardent spirits also powerfully tend to aggravate disease. It is obvious that the causes of the acknowledged sickness, are, in an important degree, local, and unconnected with the climate.

A considerable part of the soil, in the opinion of the commissioners, is as good as is found in any of the Western States. This is true of the *bottom* lands along the principal rivers, and also of much of the adjoining *prairie* lands. There is a large amount of wood land, wholly unfit for cultivation, such as the mountains and flint hills, which are interspersed throughout the country. The expedition under Col. Dodge, who visited the Pawnees, in the summer of 1834, suffered severely for want of water, as well as through excessive heat. They passed over primitive mountains of granite from 200 to 2000 feet in height, almost wholly without soil. The commissioners, though they do not speak from the most extensive personal investigation, having confined their observations mainly to the best portions of the country, declare that the territory is, generally, as well watered as the States of Missouri and Illinois. Water can frequently be found by sinking wells, where it does not appear readily on the surface. Though wood is scarce on the *prairies*, yet if the fires are kept out of them for a short time, thrifty young trees will spring up. At Union mission, in the Osage country where grass was cut, and hay made ten years ago, there are now trees six inches in diameter. A very good kind of coal has been found in various portions of the country. Thorns and the honey locust will supply materials for hedges and fences. Iron, alum, and lead have been discovered; and salines of the best quality abound, one of which was rented in the Cherokee country, last year, for five thousand bushels of salt per annum. A part of the country seems to be well adapted to the raising of stock of every description. South of the Kansas river there is no absolute necessity to provide for

* Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, in 1819 and in 1820, Vol. II. p. 320.

them in the winter, as they live in the open country winter and summer. The committee of Congress, of 1834, of which Mr. H. Everett of Vermont was chairman, say in general that "the soil and climate are all that can be desired to reward industry, and to prolong life." Major Long, speaking of the country, between Council Bluffs, (a military station on the Missouri 650 miles above its junction with the Mississippi) and the Rocky mountains, says : "Though tracts of fertile land, considerably extensive, are occasionally to be met with, yet the scarcity of wood and water, almost uniformly prevalent, will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country. Agreeably to the best intelligence, which can be obtained, concerning the country both south and north of the tract under consideration, and especially to the inferences deducible from the account given by Lewis and Clark, of the country situated between the Missouri and the Rocky mountains, above the river Platte, the vast region commencing near the sources of the Sabine, Trinity, Brasis, and Colorado, and extending north to lat. 49°, by which the territory of the United States is limited in that direction, is throughout of a similar character."* This region, however, in another aspect, may prove of great importance to the Indians, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent the extension of the white population westward, and their excursions into the Indian country.†

* Long's Expedition, Vol. II. p. 361.

† *Estimated quantity of land assigned to the tribes who have emigrated.*

| | Acres. | | Acres. |
|----------------------|------------|------------------------|-----------|
| Choctaws | 15,000,000 | Kaskaskias and Peorias | 96,000 |
| Creeks and Seminoles | 13,140,000 | Ottawas | 34,000 |
| Senecas and Shawnees | 100,000 | Shawnees | 1,600,000 |
| Quapaws | 96,000 | Delawares | 2,208,000 |
| Piankeshaws and Weas | 160,000 | Kickapoos | 768,000 |
| Cherokees | 13,000,000 | Other tribes | 7,304,000 |

Statement of the numbers of the Indians, west of the Mississippi, who have emigrated.

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------|------------------------|--------|
| Delawares | 826 | Pottawatamies | 191 |
| Shawnees | 1,250 | Senecas, from Sandusky | 251 |
| Kickapoos | 470 | Senecas and Shawnees . | 211 |
| Ottawas | 200 | Creeks | 2,459 |
| Weas | 222 | Cherokees | 5,000 |
| Piankeshaws | 162 | Appalachicolas | 265 |
| Peorias and Kaskaskias | 132 | Choctaws | 15,003 |

We will now proceed to give some account of the provisions adopted by the government of the United States in regulation of Indian affairs in the Indian territory in compliance with the provisions of the act of Congress of June 30, 1834. A general superintendency is established at St. Louis, Missouri, which includes all the Indians and Indian country west of the Mississippi river, and north of the Osage reservations, including all the Indians and Indian country west of the Rocky mountains. Another general superintendency embraces all the Indians and Indian country south of the first mentioned agency and west of the Mississippi. In addition, two agencies and seven sub-agencies are established. The various agents and sub-agents, are, by law, wholly independent of each other, and are responsible only to the proper superintendent.

A series of regulations, twenty four in number, have been

Statements of the numbers of Indian tribes east of the Mississippi.

| | | | |
|--|-------|--------------------------|--------|
| Indians in New York | 4,716 | Miamies | 1,200 |
| Indians, from New York, at Green Bay | 725 | Weas | 60 |
| Wyandots, in Ohio and Michigan | 623 | Creeks | 22,638 |
| Winnebagoes* | 4,591 | Cherokees | 10,000 |
| Ottawas and Chippewas, of Lake Michigan | 5,300 | Chickasaws | 5,429 |
| Chippewas | 6,793 | Choctaws | 3,500 |
| Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatamies | 8,000 | Seminoles | 2,420 |
| | | Appalachicolas | 340 |
| | | Menomonies | 4,200 |
| | | Pottawatamies | 1,400 |
| | | Indians in New England | 2,526 |

Statement of the numbers of the Indian tribes, resident west of the Mississippi.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|
| Sioux | 27,500 | Crows | 4,500 |
| Ioways | 1,200 | Quapaws | 450 |
| Sacs of the Missouri | 500 | Caddoes | 800 |
| Omahas | 1,400 | Poncas | 800 |
| Ottoes and Missourias | 1,600 | Osages | 5,120 |
| Pawnees | 10,000 | Kanzas | 1,471 |
| Camanches | 7,000 | Sacs | 4,800 |
| Mandans | 1,500 | Arickaras | 3,000 |
| Minetarees | 1,500 | Cheyennes | 2,000 |
| Assinaboins | 8,000 | Blackfeet | 30,000 |
| Crees | 3,000 | Foxes | 1,600 |
| Gros Ventres | 3,000 | Arrepahas, Kioways, &c. | 1,400 |

* Part of these have gone west of the river, but their number is not known.

prepared at the war department with the sanction of the president, concerning the payment of annuities. A few of the most important items we will state. The annuities are to be paid in specie, except where the Indians are willing to receive bank bills, which, at the place of payment, are equivalent to gold and silver, and provided the Indians fully understand the value of such bank-bills. The agent or sub-agent is to take measures to assemble the Indians at a determinate time and place in order to make the payments. Three or four days' provisions will be given to the Indians thus assembling. Previously to the payments, the agent or sub-agents and the military officer or officers, who are to be present at the payment of the annuity, are required to convene the Indians, and ascertain from them in what manner they desire the annuity to be paid; *whether to the chiefs of tribes, the heads of families, or in any other manner.* They will take care that the Indians fully comprehend the subject, and act upon their own suggestions. And, after obtaining their views, the payment will be made in conformity thereto. Payments will in all cases be made to the Indians, and to no other person, nor will any debt or claim of any kind be allowed or paid, except in a particular instance provided by law. Payment of all annuities will be made in public, and in presence of whatever persons may choose to attend, and triplicate receipts will be signed by the proper chiefs and by two or more respectable white witnesses. Where an annuity is payable in goods, either by law, treaty, or at the request of the Indians, the amount of goods, and the time and place of dealing must be advertised; the habits and tastes of the tribe must be consulted in determining the kind and quality of the articles; every contractor will be bound to give bond in twice the amount, to be furnished with at least three sufficient securities; and in case the goods should not be of a proper quality, the price is to be reduced, or they shall be returned to the contractor.*

By a report of lieutenant Van Horne, a disbursing agent, in the removal of the Creeks and Cherokees, it seems that the Indians themselves, in some cases, enter into contracts to furnish supplies. "There are many," he remarks, "especially among the Cherokees, who are as able and efficient in execu-

* The whole expenditure of the Indian department from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to Jan. 1, 1835, amounts to \$13,027,092,27, of which more than \$9,000,000 were for annuities and treaty stipulations.

ting contracts as our own citizens. Most of these, to be sure, are whites or half breeds; very few, perhaps none, of the full bloods could be depended on, as they are not sufficiently prompt and energetic. That natives may have an opportunity to *bid*, the *bids* should be received at some point not too remote from their residence; and I think it would be no more than what the proper protecting care of government, and the good of the Indians require, that agents should give to the Indians such information as to the manner of obtaining and executing contracts, giving bonds, security, etc., as might be of service to them. It seems to me that the welfare of the Indians would be promoted, and that it would be good policy for the government to hold out this powerful incentive to enterprise and industry in respect to these tribes.”*

We have thus given a condensed, and, as far as we can judge, impartial exposition, derived in a great measure from official sources, of the government-plan in behalf of the Indians. We wait with anxiety to see its actual operation. It is a bold, and, in many respects, an untried experiment. To take up entire nations of men, and place them several hundred miles from their former seats, with the avowed intention of gradually amalgamating them into one homogeneous mass, or of amicably preserving their national peculiarities, while they are in close contact, is a measure, to say the least, which ought to be watched with the closest attention. At the same time, we would not pre-judge it. We are willing to look with candor and patience on an enterprise encompassed, in all its aspects, with difficulties. We must be permitted, however, to offer a few suggestions, which, in our own view, are of great importance.

1. *Ardent spirits must be wholly excluded from the Indians and from the Indian territory.* On this point the agents and the military officers must be clothed with plenipotentiary powers. *The article must be excluded at all hazards.* To the Indians, above all other men, it is death. The burning pestilence has already nearly annihilated them. Two missionary agents, the Rev. Messrs. Kingsbury and Byington, who have lately visited the Western tribes, say, that “whiskey has as powerful an agency *here* in ruining the Indians as any where. It is useless to think or talk of removing Indians, and of locating

* Lieut. Van Horne's Report to the commissary general, 7th October, 1834.

them beyond the reach of whiskey. Their late sale of lands furnishes them with a new supply which makes them prodigal and dissipated." The evils are enormous, and the remedies ought to be prompt and final. Look at the following facts. In a prosecution on the frontiers of Missouri, under a State law, which prohibits the sale of liquor to an Indian, a witness testified that he saw the trader draw the whiskey from the cask, and pour it into the jug of an Indian, who carried the same away. To be more sure, the witness tasted a little that remained in the *measure*. Upon cross-examination, the witness was asked if he tasted any in the jug. He replied no; but the jug was filled *from the measure*. The criminal was acquitted! In July, 1833, three persons were brought by lieutenant Nichols to Independence, (Missouri) for trial, having been taken in the Indian country by major Riley, for violating the intercourse-law. Two barrels of whiskey were found in the possession of the criminals a little below the garrison. Sales to soldiers were proved. The criminals were defended by three able counselors, one a distinguished advocate from St. Louis. All were acquitted! Since a law of congress has been passed, declaring that no ardent spirits shall be introduced into the Indian country, *under any pretence whatever*, capitalists, now licensed to trade, have established distilleries, and seek to screen themselves from the letter of the law, which does not forbid *making* whiskey in the country, although it prohibits its *introduction*. Lieutenant Bean, a U. S. sub-Indian agent, writes on the 6th of November, 1833, that "common report says that the agents of the American Fur Company, are manufacturing whiskey in the Indian country, near the mouth of the Yellow Stone river, which reports I do not doubt." It is melancholy to ascertain that the Indians themselves are deeply guilty in this matter. In the Cherokee country, a distillery has been erected by a half-breed, where whiskey is manufactured in considerable quantities. The great success of this establishment, and the impunity with which the business is carried on, has stimulated others to embark in the enterprise, and more distilleries will be erected as soon as orders can be supplied. The strong inducement to manufacture the liquor, will appear from the ready cash sales, being not less than *ninety-five* dollars by the barrel, or *one hundred and ninety*, when retailed by the small *measure*.

On the question of the practicability of the exclusion of ardent spirits, we are glad to quote the testimony of Mr. School-

craft, a gentleman every way well qualified to judge. "Much solicitude," he remarks, "is felt by me to exclude ardent spirits wholly from the Chippewas and Ottawas, the latter of whom have, by a recent order, been placed under my charge. I am fully satisfied that ardent spirits are not necessary to the successful prosecution of the Indian trade, that they are deeply pernicious to the Indians, and that both their use and abuse is derogatory to the character of a wise and sober government. Their exclusion, in every shape, and every quantity, is an object of primary moment; and it is an object which I feel it a duty to persevere in the attainment of, however traders may bluster. I feel a reasonable confidence in stating, that no whiskey has been used in my agency, during the last two years, except the limited quantity taken by special permission of the Secretary of War, for the trade of the Hudson's Bay line; and saving also the quantity clandestinely introduced from Prairie du Chien and St. Peter's." "Let us proceed," says he to general Street, another firm temperance agent, "in the accomplishment of this object, with a determination never to relinquish it, until ardent spirits are entirely excluded from the Indian country."

2. *The most vigilant caution should be exercised in the selection of agents.* No item in the general policy is more important than this. No matter how wise the government-regulations may be, no matter how humane and magnanimous may be the character of the Secretary of War, or the superintendent of Indian affairs at Washington, the whole system will be an inevitable failure except good men are secured for agents. One improvident, unkind, intemperate or inefficient agent, will introduce confusion and wretchedness wherever his influence may extend. The Indians, in their inexperience, must regard an agent as their protector, and as embodying in his character, the dignity and equity of the government of his country. He is to be their shield against the oppression of traders, whiskey-venders, and all interlopers, be they white, black, or red. The agents should be chosen, not on the ground of any partizan-feelings, and not in ignorance or thoughtlessness, but from a well ascertained knowledge of their character. They should be tried, prudent, energetic, thoroughly temperate, cheerful, kind-hearted, and public-spirited men. We are happy to know that several of the agents now employed are decidedly of this description.

3. *Another measure of great importance was recommended*

by Mr. Clay in his late eloquent speech before the Senate of the United States, and is embodied in the following resolution.

“Resolved that the committee on the Judiciary be directed to inquire into the expediency of making further provision by law, to enable Indian nations, or tribes to whose use and occupancy, lands are secured by treaties concluded between them and the United States, to defend and maintain their rights to such lands, in the courts of the United States, in conformity with the constitution of the United States.” The provision in the constitution is this; “The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority.” As congress have full powers over the territories, we may give the Indians all the guaranty which congress can express for the undisturbed possession of their lands, and for the secure enjoyment of their rights, when those rights come in conflict with the doings of white men, or with State laws. The United States cannot so far rely upon the tribes themselves, as to dispense with adequate measures on the part of congress to fulfil the guaranty of the government. The impunity with which violators of the intercourse-laws now escape punishment, though occasionally prosecuted before State tribunals, shows conclusively that the reliance of government must rest in her federal judges administering the laws on the Indian territory, where a jury can be summoned at least not unfavorable to the civilization of the Indians. “At present,” say the commissioners, “offenders are taken for trial to Missouri and Arkansas; and such, on the frontiers, is the extent of *similar transgressions*, and such are the connections of the *aggressors*, that few have been convicted, though the evidence has been apparently conclusive.” No adequate remedy, it is very obvious, will be applied for a long time, if reliance is to be had upon the State courts. The laws of the United States must be expounded and enforced by the judges and officers of the United States.

4. *A rigorous system ought to be enforced in regard to the white traders.* “We are uniformly told,” say Messrs. Kingsbury and Byington, “that all, who are interested in the fur trade, are interested *against* our object. The fur interest is a great and powerful one.* The traders have acquired, and they

* In 1827, the Columbia and French Fur Companies were conso-

maintain a great influence with the Indians. The government-agents feel and acknowledge this, and the faithful missionary may also feel the same." Traders are of course opposed to the civilization of the Indians. Their trade will be destroyed, if the Indians give up their hunting life. It is supposed that the traders have already credited to the Indians, within the western territory, half a million of dollars. The danger of loss, by depending on voluntary payment, has induced the seller to charge enormous profits.* At the same time that efforts are made to collect old debts, new ones are contracted, till there remains no possibility of payment. On what does the trader rely? Mostly on peltry. How is this obtained? How are Indians driven to the hunt to discharge their credits? By the chiefs, who are kept in good humor by frequent presents. The young men are driven again and again to the chase by headmen, who are responsible as sureties, or bribed to use influence or authority. The moral qualifications of an applicant-trader have not been the subject of inquiry. The agent has had no discretion to reject the applicant on account of moral deficiency. His discretion is confined to the validity of the bond. The license to large companies has been the means of extending trading houses in all directions, and of introducing *trappers* into the country. The passage of these wretched men through the Indian villages is marked by a long train of woes entailed by debauchery and disease. The remedy for these enormous mischiefs is clear. Reduce the number of white men as much as possible, unless admitted for purposes of civilization. Permit no citizen to reside in the country, whether agent, teacher, or laborer, without a bond for his good behavior, with certain specified breaches in the condition. Let a share of the forfeiture be given to the

lilated, making a part of the American Fur Company, and since which time, it has been known only as such. For the last six years it has been furnished with goods for the trade, by John Jacob Astor of New York, and his son, William B. Astor, the president of the company. A great number of agents is employed, and millions of money invested.

* On the borders of the navigable waters of the Missouri, no higher up than fort Leavenworth, guns, which cost in St. Louis \$7, are sold for \$30; axes, which cost $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents, are sold at \$2; a double handful of salt, which cost 62 cents a bushel, is sold at \$1; white beads, which cost 35 cents a pound, are charged \$3. These are not exceptions, but the general fact.

informer. Above all other things, let the moral character of every white man, wishing to enter into the Indian country, be subjected to the severest scrutiny.

5. *A sufficient military force must be employed along the Mexican boundary to prevent the incursions of foreign hostile Indians.* The predatory character of these Indians has long been a matter of serious complaint. Old feuds and jealousies exist, particularly between the Osages and some of the Mexican Indians, which may break out into open hostility at any moment. The difficulty is much increased by the confusion which at present reigns in Mexican affairs, rendering negotiation with that government, if practicable, of little avail.

6. *Earnest and judicious efforts must be adopted and perseveringly pursued for the civilizing and christianizing of the Indians.* Here the main dependance is to be placed. No human means, aside from the gospel of Jesus Christ, are adequate to arrest the tendency of the Indians to degeneracy and extinction. The committee of congress say with great justice that a preference ought to be given to *educated* Indian youth, in all the employments of which they are capable, as traders, interpreters, schoolmasters, farmers, mechanics, etc.; and that the course of their education should be so directed as to render them capable of those employments. Why educate the Indians unless their education can be turned to some practical use? And why educate them for a practical use, and yet refuse to employ them? The case has occurred that the educated Indian returns from the school, raised above, and unfitted for, the society of his tribe, yet not high enough for that of the whites. His tribe furnishes no situation in which his education can be useful or profitable. He can turn it to no account any where else; and a life of dissipation is the usual and the fatal consequence of a life of idleness. Every place of profit, every object of laudable effort should be within his reach.

An appropriation of \$10,000 per annum has been given by congress, for a few years, for the benefit of the Indians, and called the Civilization Fund. The disposition of it, in 1834, was as follows; to the Baptist General Convention \$2,000; to the American Board for Foreign Missions, \$2,200; to the Roman Catholic church, \$1,300; to the Methodist Episcopal missions \$400; to the Protestant Episcopal \$500, etc. Of the funds provided by treaties for the purposes of education, \$17,000

were devoted to the support of pupils, belonging to various tribes, at the Choctaw academy in Kentucky. In addition, \$24,000 were devoted to kindred objects, \$12,500 of the sum being appropriated by the Choctaws to the support of schools in their own nation. The Choctaw academy in Kentucky contains 156 pupils; this number will be increased by fifteen Chickasaws, as the chiefs of that tribe have recently requested that their school-money might be expended in this institution. The buildings and school-apparatus are valued at \$8,000. The academy is represented as being in a highly prosperous condition.

The American Baptist Board have established missions among the Shawnees, Delawares, Otoes, Omahaws, Pawnees, Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws,—all in the Indian or Western territory. The number of church members is between one and two hundred. The number of missionary laborers is about twenty. An alphabet has been invented for the Shawnees, Chippewas, and Delawares, and elementary books compiled. Mr. McCoy has issued proposals for publishing a semi-monthly periodical at the Shawnee station.

The Methodists have established missions among three or four of the tribes. The Pittsburgh Society are about commencing one among the Ioways.

The following missions have been established by the American Board. Among the western Cherokees are three stations and eighteen laborers. The number of native church members is about 100. Four schools contain about 175 children. Proposals have recently been made to employ itinerant teachers for instructing the people, in the art of reading their own language, according to the method adopted among the eastern Cherokees. The mission among the western Choctaws includes five stations and sixteen laborers, all near Red river, or Little river, a northern branch, and not far from the south-western corner of the Arkansas Territory. The three churches contain 200 members. Ten or twelve schools are in successful operation. A considerable number of tracts and school books in the Choctaw language have been printed, or are in a state of preparation. Mr. Byington has about completed his Choctaw dictionary and grammar. Among the 2,500 western Creeks, a station has been established, with three laborers, about seven miles from fort Gibson, near the junction of the Verdigris with the Arkansas.

Mr. Fleming is attempting to reduce the language to writing. An elementary book of 100 pages has been prepared. Four stations have been formed among the Osages, with sixteen laborers. A printing establishment for the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Osage languages, is to be immediately commenced at the Union station. An elementary book of 126 pages has been printed. Missions are to be immediately commenced among the four bands of the Pawnees, the Sioux, Sacs, Foxes, etc.

We believe that it is now generally conceded that there is no reasonable expectation of inducing the Indians to change their own language for the English. The *mother tongue* has more power in it, with those who speak it, than any other language which can be found. It is much easier for a man, who speaks their language to gain and keep their confidence, than for one who can speak only through an interpreter. In respect to the advantages of a uniform orthography in writing the Indian languages, Messrs. Kingsbury and Byington, after much experience, say : " We wish that all the missionaries sent out by the Board might adopt a uniform orthography. Some languages have more consonant sounds than others, and different ones also—and some have more vowel sounds, and nasal sounds, and diphthongal sounds than others. Perhaps all your missionaries among the Indians have adopted a uniform mode of writing. We think that it is entirely practicable from our own experience. We have taken specimens of thirteen different languages or dialects, and have found no particular difficulty in writing the same with one alphabet. In some languages we find some sounds which we do not in others. We especially wish that all the *vowel sounds* might be uniformly written, and we would recommend that Mr. Pickering's Essay,* be sent to the stations among the Indians, where it has not already been sent, and a copy or two of such Indian books as have been printed according to the general principles contained in his pamphlet. An instance has

* See Essay of the Hon. John Pickering, on the adoption of a uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America, inserted in the 4th volume, pp. 319—360, of the Memoirs of the American Academy. This learned scholar adopts as the *basis* of his proposed Indian orthography, what we call the *foreign* sounds of the vowels; that is, the sounds which are usually given to them by those European nations, with whom we have much intercourse by books or otherwise, and who, like ourselves, use the *Roman* alphabet in their

occurred, in which we felt the need of uniformity in writing the Indian languages."

But our limits admonish us to close. If our labor shall contribute, in any measure, to call the public attention to this subject, we shall be gratified. We trust that in the most praiseworthy and honorable efforts, which are making for the evangelization of other continents, the poor aborigines of our own will not be neglected. We may count up more rapid victories elsewhere, but here the claims of justice call with imperative voice. We fear that there is an increasing apathy in our community on the subject of Indian civilization. True, the number of our Indians is comparatively small, and, every year, the pestilence and the trader's whiskey are thinning their ranks. Nevertheless, **THEY**, of all men, have the *first* claim on our compassion. We may refuse to extend the cup of cold water to other famishing tribes with less peril than we may to extend it to them. We should feel for them with a brother's sympathy. We should interpose quickly between them and annihilation, the glorious gospel of the blessed God. Some of them we have driven beyond the river by means which the most hard-hearted miser ought to despise, which a generous nation should abhor, and which will affix to the latest ages of time a blot on the page of our history, that the tears of the bitterest repentance cannot wash out. Let us do what we can to repair the remorseless injuries which we have inflicted upon them. Let us watch with candid but with vigilant eye the operation of the present national policy. If it is productive of wrong and outrage, let us lift up a fearless voice of remonstrance. If it secures the present and eternal happi-

own languages. Mr. P. proposes that the general pronunciation of the common letters of our alphabet should be as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| A as in the English, <i>father</i> . | P and R as in English. |
| B & D as in English, French, etc. | S as in English at the beginning of a word. |
| E as in <i>there</i> , short <i>e</i> as in <i>met</i> . | T as in English. |
| F as in English. | U both long and short as English <i>oo</i> . |
| G as English <i>game</i> . | V as English <i>v</i> , and German <i>w</i> . |
| H as an aspirate. | W and Z as in English. |
| I as in <i>marine</i> , short <i>i</i> as in <i>him</i> . | Y as in the English <i>yet</i> . |
| K, L, M and N as in English. | |
| O English long <i>o</i> as in <i>robe</i> , also short <i>o</i> as in <i>some</i> . | |

The whole essay of Mr. P. is very interesting.

ness of the Indian, let us cheer it with all encouragement and co-operation. Let our missionary societies labor under the solemn conviction that *the last sands of the Indian existence may now be running*.*

ARTICLE VI.

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN GEOLOGY AND THE MOSAIC HISTORY OF THE CREATION.

By Edward Hitchcock, Professor of Chemistry and Nat. Hist. in Amherst College.

EVERY nation in all ages has had its recorded or traditional cosmogony. And it is not a little curious, that a subject which the most improved philosophy, aided by a divine revelation, finds it so difficult to understand and illustrate, should so interest men in all stages of civilization, and be even incorporated into the unwritten poetry of the rudest tribes. Men of all religions too, and those hostile to all religion; the pagan, the Christian, the deist, and the atheist, have regarded cosmogony as a store-house of tried arguments for the support of their opposing opinions. Ever since the introduction of Christianity into the world, this has been a portion of the field of contest between its friends and its enemies, where the battle has warmly raged. Many a friend of revelation, even before geology was known as a science, has fancied that he saw in the structure of our globe,

* The speech of Mr. Clay, though reported in such a manner as to do but little justice to the great orator, cannot be read without tears. "He rejoices that the voice, which, without charge of presumption or arrogance, has ever been raised in defence of the oppressed of the human species, had been heard in defence of this most oppressed of all. To him, in that awful hour of death, to which all must come, and which, with respect to himself could not be very far distant, it would be a source of the highest consolation that an opportunity had been found by him, on the floor of the Senate, in the discharge of his official duty, to pronounce his views on a course of policy marked by such wrongs as were calculated to arrest the attention of every one, and that he had raised his humble voice and pronounced his solemn protest against such wrongs."

a demonstrative confirmation of the Mosaic history : while many an infidel has seen with equal clearness, in those same natural monuments a refutation of the sacred record. And this is one of those subjects about which men are clear and positive just in proportion to the looseness and superficialness of their knowledge. The consequence has been, that the world has been flooded with a multitude of very weak and crude productions upon cosmogony. At the beginning of the last half century, indeed, these productions, called "Theories of the Earth," had become so ridiculous that for a number of years the press was much less prolific on the subject. Since the commencement of the present century, however, the discussion has been revived with fresh interest ; though it is not so much between the infidel and the Christian, as between Christian and Christian ; the one defending, and the other opposing, certain theories. And there seems to be prevalent, as in former times, a strange delusion, which makes almost every intelligent man fancy himself amply qualified to write upon these points with the most dogmatic assurance. Hence a multitude of productions have been poured forth on the community, many of which exhibit such a want of maturity and such entire ignorance of some parts of the subject, that the men thoroughly versed in all its bearings have passed them by in pity or contempt. We, however, have caught the *cacoethes scribendi*, and must go on ; though at the risque of having our efforts treated thus cavalierly, and cast into the same forgotten pile of literary rubbish.

We think it will explain the numerous failures of writers on the connection between the Bible and geology, to state, that most of them have been merely theologians, or merely philologists, or merely geologists, or at best but slightly acquainted with more than two of these branches. Being accurately acquainted with one or two of these departments of knowledge, they have overlooked the importance of a thorough acquaintance with the rest. But it is quite clear to us, that without at least a respectable acquaintance with them all, no man can successfully discuss their connection, or reconcile their apparent discrepancies. If he be not familiar with theology, how can he judge correctly of those theories of interpretation which modify essentially every institution and doctrine dependant upon the Mosaic chronology ? If he be not acquainted with the rules of exegesis, now constituting a distinct and extensive science, how shall he determine whether those theories do not offer violence

to the sacred writers? And if he be ignorant of geology, how shall he know what modifications, if any, of the common interpretation of the Bible, are necessary to reconcile it with the records of nature's past operations? Nor is a mere theoretical knowledge of these subjects sufficient. Especially is this the case in geology; in which the fullest and most accurate descriptions convey but faint and inadequate ideas to the mind, in comparison with a personal examination of the rocks in the places where nature has piled them up.

We may inquire too, how readers are to judge of discussions on these subjects, if they have not at least a respectable acquaintance with the three departments of knowledge above named? Now in regard to theology and sacred philology, we may reasonably calculate, from the provisions that are made in our seminaries of learning for teaching them, that all publicly educated men at least, will be conversant with their elements. Nor is any such man respectable in society without this knowledge. But far different is the case in respect to geology. What provision is there in our literary institutions for teaching any thing more than its merest elements by a few lectures? and who feels any mortification in confessing his ignorance of the subject? Were not the community in general profoundly unacquainted with its details, so many statements, contradictory to its first principles, could not pass so quietly as they now do the round of our newspapers and periodicals. Some of our geologists, we happen to know, have been discouraged by the evidence they have seen of so much ignorance on the subject, from attempting to explain or defend the principles of their science when attacked; being quite sure that their statements would neither be understood nor appreciated. In the most enlightened parts of Europe the case is quite different. "In England every enlightened man knows something of geology: it is very much the case in France; and is becoming more and more so in Germany."* We rejoice, however, in the belief that the state of things in this country on this subject is rapidly improving.

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances we propose to examine carefully the connection between geology and the Mosaic cosmogony. The two records have been, and still are, supposed to be at variance: and to ascertain whether this opinion be correct, will be the great object of inquiry. If they

* *American Quarterly Review*, June, 1830, p. 363.

both proceed from the same infinitely perfect Being, there cannot be any real discrepancy between them. So that if we discover any apparent disagreement, we either do not rightly understand geology, or give a wrong interpretation to the Scriptures, or the Bible is not true. We hope to show to the satisfaction of every reasonable and candid mind, that we are by no means compelled to adopt the last of these conclusions. Nevertheless, we forewarn our readers that if any of them expect that we shall remove all difficulties from the first chapter of Genesis, they will be disappointed. Independent of geology, there are obscurities in that portion of Scripture, which no interpreter has ever been able entirely to remove; nor in the present state of geological science, are we warranted in presuming that no future discoveries will throw any light upon the Mosaic cosmogony. All that can be reasonably expected of a writer on this subject, and all that we shall attempt, is, to show, that there are modes of reconciling the Mosaic and the geological records so reasonable, that to disbelieve the former on account of apparent discrepancies, would be altogether unjustifiable and even absurd. We have our preferences as to the best mode of reconciling the two histories; nor shall we conceal our partiality: but we shall not undertake to defend any particular mode as infallibly true; because we do not believe that such positiveness is necessary for the defence of the sacred record, or justified by the present state of our knowledge.

We venture to make another suggestion to our readers. Let no one, however intelligent, imagine that the mere perusal of the best written essay can make him master of this subject. It is only by long and patient thought, as well as extensive reading, that he will be able correctly to appreciate all its bearings, and to plant himself on ground that will not be continually sliding from beneath his feet.

It is very common for writers on this subject to confine their attention to the single point where there is a supposed disagreement between geology and revelation: whereas, in order to form a correct judgment concerning such disagreement, we ought to look at all the points where the two subjects are connected. For if we find discrepancy to be generally manifest, and agreement to be only an exception, the presumption is strong, that a particular marked discrepancy is real and irreconcilable. But if harmony constitutes the rule, and disagreement the exception, the presumption is, that any special case of

the want of coincidence results from ignorance or misunderstanding.

Now we think that we can point out a number of coincidences between geology and revelation, some of which are unexpected and remarkable. And it will constitute the first part of our effort to exhibit these coincidences in detail.

1. *In the first place, geology and revelation agree in teaching us that the material universe had a beginning, and was created out of nothing by a Divine Power.*

In treating of the connection between geology and natural theology, we have shown how the successive groups of animals and plants that have been placed on the globe have been more and more perfect and complicated, so that in tracing them backwards, we must at length arrive at the beginning of the series. A similar retrospective survey of the changes which have taken place in the matter composing the globe, brings us at length to a point, anterior to which no change can be discovered. And we maintain that it is philosophical to infer that the creation of matter took place at the commencement of such a series of changes and of animal and vegetable existences. At least, it is unphilosophical, without proof, to infer the existence of matter through the eternity that preceded these changes : and no proof can be presented, unless it be derived from the nature of matter ; an argument too tenuous to have influence with substantial minds. But the creative power which was put forth at the commencement of these changes in the formation of animals and plants, is a presumption in favor of its having been previously exerted in the no more difficult work of bringing matter into being.

We are aware that not a few distinguished critics and theologians do not regard Moses as describing in the first chapter of Genesis a creation of matter out of nothing, because the words employed are ambiguous in their signification. This point we shall examine carefully further on. But we cannot doubt, after an examination of all the passages in the Bible where the creation is spoken of, that the sacred writers most clearly intended to teach the creation of the universe out of nothing (*creatio prima, vel immediata*, in the language of the theologians) and not out of pre-existing materials : (*creatio secunda, vel mediata*).

When we consider how strong a tendency has ever been exhibited by learned men to a belief in the eternity of matter, and how some philosophers and even divines at this day maintain

that belief,* we cannot but regard the testimony of geology on this point as of great importance. And if we mistake not, it will be in vain to search the records of any other science for proof equally conclusive.

2. *In the second place, revelation and geology agree as to the nature and operation of the agents that have been employed in effecting the changes which have taken place in the matter of the globe since its original creation.*

These agents are fire and water. And at almost every step the geologist meets with evidence of their combined or successive operation within and upon our globe. The deposition of the stratified rocks he cannot explain without the presence of water; especially when he finds them filled with the relics of marine animals. But their subsequent elevation and dislocation, as well as the production of the unstratified rocks, demanded the agency of powerful heat.

To the cursory reader water appears to have been the principal agent employed in the revealed cosmogony; and in subsequent times the same agent was employed for the destruction of the world. But a careful examination of the Scriptures renders it at least probable, that fire was concerned in some of the demiurgic processes. There can be no doubt but under the term אֹר, (lux) Moses includes both light and heat, or fire; since he does not describe the latter as a separate creation, and since it is now understood that they always are united, and are in fact probably only different modifications of the same principle. Now although Moses does not distinctly exhibit heat as an agent in modifying the face of the globe, yet there is a passage in the 104th Psalm which quite obviously points us to such an agency. *Thou coveredst it (the earth) with the deep as with a garment: the waters stood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away.* Here we have a description of that change in the earth's surface which in Genesis is thus described: *And God said let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear; and it was so.* Moses does not describe the agent employed in this change; but refers it to the immediate power or command of God. But if there be any fact clearly established in geology, it is, that all dry land on the earth has been elevated above the waters by a volcanic agency:

* Knapp's Theology, Vol. I. p. 341.

using that term in its widest signification to denote the "influence exercised by the interior of a planet on its exterior covering during its different stages of refrigeration."* Now how appropriate to represent such an agency in operation as the voice of God's thunder, from which the waters hasted away.

That this is a natural interpretation of the Psalmist's language, will be obvious by quoting the commentary of bishop Patrick upon the third day's work of creation : an author, whose exegesis, although prepared more than 150 years ago, is often remarkably adapted to the state of natural science in the nineteenth century. "There being such large portions of matter," says he, "drawn out of the chaos, as made the body of fire and air, beforementioned, there remained in a great body only water and earth ; but they so jumbled together that they could not be distinguished. It was the work therefore of the third day, to make a separation between them, by compacting together all the particles which make the earth, which before was mud and dirt ; and then by raising it above the waters which covered its superficies, (as the Psalmist also describes this work, Ps. 104: 6) ; and lastly, by making such caverns in it, as were sufficient to receive the waters into them. Now this we may conceive to have been done by such particles of fire as were left in the bowels of the earth ; whereby such nitro-sulphureous vapors were kindled, as made an earthquake which both lifted up the earth, and also made receptacles for the waters to run into ; as the Psalmist (otherwise I should not venture to mention this) seems in the forementioned place to illustrate it ; Ps. 104: 7. *At thy*, etc. And so God himself speaks, Job 38: 10, *I brake up*, etc. History also tells us of mountains that have been in several ages, lifted up by earthquakes ; nay, islands in the midst of the sea : which confirms this conjecture, etc."†

The view which we have given above respecting the account in Genesis, is sustained by the opinion of Sharon Turner. "The Hebrew word used by Moses, אֵשׁ," says he, "expresses both light and fire. We may, therefore, reasonably infer, that light came to the earth in the state in which we now almost universally find it, both light and heat, etc."—"We learn from the book of Genesis that both these were active agents in the crea-

* Humboldt's definition: De la Beche's Manual of Geology, 2nd London Edition, p. 518.

† Commentary on Gen. 1: 9.

tion, from its very commencement. Thus the great scientific truth so recently ascertained, after many contending systems had been upheld and thrown down, that both the watery and fiery elements were actively concerned in the geological construction of our earth, is implied or indicated by the Mosaic narration, instead of being inconsistent with it.”*

The scholar cannot but be reminded by these remarks of the Cataclysmi and Ecpyroses taught by the ancient Egyptians, and fully adopted by the Stoics. Must we not suppose that so wide spread an opinion concerning successive catastrophes, to which the globe has been subject, produced alternately by fire and water, like the traditions of a universal deluge, had its origin in the truth? Have we not here an interesting coincidence between the records of revelation, of civil history and of geology!†

There is another similar coincidence which should not be passed unnoticed; especially as it is entirely overlooked by most readers of the Bible. Geological travellers describe the region around the Dead Sea in Palestine as exhibiting decided marks of former volcanic action; and we can hardly doubt but that Sea itself occupies the site of an ancient crater. Now if we adopt Dr. Henderson’s translation of a passage in Job, we can hardly doubt but God did employ a volcanic eruption to overwhelm the cities of the plain.

“Hast thou observed the ancient tract,
That was trodden by wicked mortals?
Who were arrested of a sudden,
Whose foundation is a molten flood;
Who said to God, depart from us,
What can Shaddai do to us?
Though he had filled their houses with wealth:
(Far from me be the counsel of the wicked!)
The righteous beheld and rejoiced,
The innocent laughed them to scorn;
Surely their substance was carried away,
And their riches devoured by fire.”‡

The raining down of fire and brimstone accords perfectly well with the idea of a volcano; since those very substances,

* Sacred History of the World, (Family Library,) pp. 24, 25.

† Lyell’s *Geology*, Vol. I. p. 9. Also Macculloch’s *System of Geology*, Vol. II. p. 386.

‡ Henderson’s *Iceland*, Amer. Edition, 1831, p. 80.

being raised into the air by the force of the volcano, would fall in a shower upon the surrounding region. Whether it was miraculously produced, or the natural operation of it employed by God to punish the wicked, it is not of much consequence to determine; since the sacred writers, whose example we should copy, seem to regard every natural event as almost equally the work of God.

3. *Geology and Revelation agree in representing the continents of our globe as having formerly been submerged beneath the ocean.*

At least two thirds of existing continents are covered with rocks that contain abundant remains of marine animals: and the whole of their surfaces are overspread with such a coating of bowlders, pebbles and sand, as proves the occurrence of deluges in former times, too mighty for any thing but the ocean to produce. Indeed, to doubt that our existing continents in early times formed the bottom of the ocean, is scepticism too gross for any geologist at this day to indulge: especially when he sees that the rocks are tilted up just as they would be if a volcanic force had lifted them above the waters.

I hardly need say that all this corresponds precisely with the Mosaic account. Until the third day it seems that the surface of the globe was one shoreless ocean. For the command that the dry land should appear, implies that previously it was covered; and from the second verse of Genesis we learn that it was covered by the *deep*. It was upon the waters that the Spirit of God moved.

4. *Revelation and geology agree in teaching us that the work of creation was progressive after the first production of the matter of the universe.*

Every step which the geologist takes in his examination of the crust of our globe, presents to his view fresh evidence that the formation of nearly all the rocks has been progressive. Every where on the earth's surface, he sees in operation the agency of rains, rivers, and deluges, to wear down the higher parts and to fill up the lower, where he finds accumulated sand and gravel with a mixture of animal and vegetable remains. And where water, containing lime or iron in solution, percolates through these deposits of detritus, they become hardened into stone. The mass thus hardened cannot be distinguished from the sandstones and conglomerates that cover large areas on the earth, and form mountains some thousands of feet in height.

The observer cannot resist the impression, that all these rocks, whose characters are more mechanical than chemical, (e. g. the sandstone and conglomerates,) were produced in a similar manner. But it sometimes happens that such rocks in particular localities have been subject to the agency of powerful heat by means of former volcanoes : and there their mechanical aspect more or less disappears, and they are crystalline in their structure ; so as exactly to resemble the oldest, or lowest rocks. Hence the geologist very reasonably infers, that even the oldest strata were originally mere beds of clay, sand and gravel, which have been changed by volcanic agency, repeatedly and powerfully exerted upon them. And when he sees the unstratified rocks (now almost universally admitted to be the products of igneous agency,) intruded among the older stratified ones in almost every possible mode, he is confirmed in the inference which he had made. In short, there is not probably a single rock yet brought to light in the crust of the earth, of which the geologist cannot find its prototype now actually forming on the land or in the sea. And they all bear the marks of progressive formation. Men in their studies may reason about the rocks, as if they were produced in their present state in a moment of time, by the original creative fiat of Jehovah. But they cannot examine them in their native beds without seeing at once that the opinion is utterly untenable.

Now it is an interesting coincidence with geology, that the Scriptures describe the work of creation as occupying six successive days. Whether we are to understand these as literal days of twenty-four hours, or whether geology demands a period longer than six natural days, are questions not necessary to be discussed in this place. The argument requires only that it should be admitted, as all must admit, that Moses represents the work of creation as progressive. He does not, indeed, represent any new matter as brought into existence after "the beginning," in which "God created the heavens and the earth." He describes the animals and plants as produced out of pre-existing matter. And geology teaches the same.

5. *Geology and revelation agree in the fact that man was the last of the animals created.*

The geologist finds several thousand species of plants and animals entombed and their forms preserved in the rocks ; and some of them very far down in the series. But no remains of man occur until we arrive at the highest strata. It is only in

the loose sand and gravel that cover the surface that human remains have been found at all;* and to this day it is doubtful whether any of them can be referred to a period as far back as the last general deluge. At least, it is only in one or two instances that the bones of antediluvians have been exhumated. Now human bones are no more liable to decay than those of other animals; and they are as easily petrified. Why then, if man existed with the animals now entombed in the secondary and tertiary rocks, are they not found as they are with postdiluvian remains? The conclusion is irresistible, that he was not their contemporary. And probably before the last deluge, he scarcely existed out of Asia: and hence, among the antediluvian animals of America, England and Germany, he has not been found. In the south of France only (unless perhaps in Belgium,) have human remains been discovered so connected with antediluvian quadrupeds as to render their existence at the same epoch probable. Man, therefore, must have been among the last of the animals that were created. And it is needless to say that this conclusion coincides precisely with the revealed record.

6. *Geology and revelation agree in the fact that it is only a comparatively recent period since man was placed upon the earth.*

We have room to refer only to two or three proofs which force this conclusion upon the geologist.

The last great catastrophe that affected our earth almost universally, appears from the marks it has left on the surface, to have been a general deluge. Since that epoch, certain natural operations have been slowly and pretty uniformly in progress, so as to form an imperfect kind of chronometer. Among these is the accumulation of alluvium at the mouths of rivers, usually called *deltas*. In some parts of the eastern continents we are able to ascertain the progress of the work, from the situation of certain cities and monuments 2,000 or 3,000 years ago: and the conclusion is, that the beginning of the whole process cannot be dated further back than a few thousand years. And

* The Guadaloupe specimens, now in the English and French cabinets, are hardly an exception to this statement: for although found in solid rock, it is a rock which is continually forming at the bottom of the Caribbean seas, and these specimens are doubtless of postdiluvian origin.

since human remains have scarcely been found in the diluvium of countries which geologists have yet examined, it cannot be that man had spread far on the earth's surface previous to the last deluge. Thus we are led to infer that the date of his creation could have reached back but a few thousand years.

The same conclusion is confirmed by the manner in which ponds and morasses are filled up by the growth of sphagneous mosses. This process is still going on ; so that during the life of an individual, he can often perceive considerable progress towards the conversion of a morass into dry ground : But were not the present condition of the globe of rather recent date, all such processes must ere this have reached their limits.

Who has not observed, that where mountains rise into precipitous rocky peaks or ledges, with mural faces, in almost all cases, there is an accumulation around their bases of fragments detached by the agency of air, water, and frost ? Where the rock is full of fissures, indeed, these fragments sometimes reach to the very top of the ledge : but, in general, the work of degradation is still in progress, and impresses the observer with the idea that its commencement cannot have been very remote.

I am aware that such facts do not very definitively fix the time of the beginning of the present order of things ; because we cannot easily compare them with human chronology. But when we read in the Bible, that it is only a few thousand years since man was placed upon the earth, we cannot but feel that these natural changes are in perfect coincidence with the inspired record ; although alone they teach us only that their commencement was not very remote. Had deltas been pushed across wide oceans, or morasses been all filled up, or mountains been all levelled, we should at once perceive a discrepancy between revelation and nature. Now both of them proclaim the comparatively recent beginning of the present order of things on the globe, in the face of the hoary chronologies of many nations.

7. *Geology and revelation agree in representing the surface of our globe as swept over by a general deluge at a period not very remote.*

Many distinguished geologists maintain, that the Mosaic account is strongly confirmed by geology. Others merely say, that the globe exhibits evidence of many deluges in early times, but that no one of them can be identified with the Noachian deluge. All will agree, however, (except perhaps some violent

infidels,) that geology affords in these marks of former deluges a presumptive evidence in favor of the one described by Moses. We have no space here to draw out this evidence in detail: but we hope to do it at a future time; so that our readers can judge for themselves to how much it amounts. But in this place we maintain only, that in respect to a general deluge, geology strictly accords with revelation. And considering the nature of such an event and its rare occurrence, this coincidence must be regarded as highly interesting.

8. *Finally, geology furnishes similar confirmatory evidence as to the manner in which revelation declares the earth will at last be destroyed.*

Recent discoveries and reasonings have rendered it probable that the internal parts of the earth still contain an immense amount of heat, sufficient in the opinion of some to keep the interior in a melted state; and sufficient, whenever God shall permit it to break from its prison, "to melt the elements and burn up the earth, and the things therein." Geology also renders it probable, that the consequence of such a catastrophe would be the formation of "a new heavens and a new earth." But we have no time at present to give a more full development of these ideas suggested by modern geology.

Now in respect to the coincidences between geology and revelation that have been pointed out, they are for the most part such as no human sagacity could have invented at the time the book of Genesis was written: for it is only by the light of the nineteenth century that they have been disclosed. We ought, therefore, to bear in mind, when we examine any apparent discrepancies between geology and revelation, that there exist between them many unexpected coincidences. In other words, we ought not to forget that even from geology alone, we derive presumptive evidence in favor of the sacred historian. The evidence of disagreement, therefore, must be very clear and strong, to justify us in rejecting the Mosaic cosmogony as false.

ARTICLE VII.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—*Beke's Origines Biblicae*.*

A new work has recently made its appearance in England, entitled *Origines Biblicae* or *Researches on Primeval History*, by C. T. Beke. Its principal design seems to be, to shew that the later Jews, and after their example, the Christian world in general, have made some very important and even fundamental mistakes in respect to Scripture geography. Aram or Syria, the author maintains, originally meant only Coelo-Syria, i. e. Syria between the ridges of the Lebanon mountains; which, by a great mistake, has been extended to the country of Mesopotamia. In like manner he avers, that there is no evidence that the city of Babylon was built at or near the place where the tower of Babel stood; and, what is still much more extraordinary, that the ancient Mizraim or Egypt, where the Israelites were held in bondage, was not the country extending along the banks and in the valley of the Nile, but a country on the peninsula of Mount Sinai! The Israelites, of course, when they left Egypt, did not pass over an arm or outlet of the gulf of Suez, as is generally supposed, but over the extremity of the gulf of Acaba, the eastern fork of the bay of the Red Sea.

How Mr. Beke could find the fruitful country, (which the Egypt that the Israelites dwelt in is so abundantly represented in Scripture to be), in the peninsula of Sinai; and especially, how he could find in that desert the river which is so often adverted to in the first part of the book of Exodus, will, it is very likely, be a problem to some readers of difficult solution. But such must be advertised, that there is no difficulty which Mr. Beke cannot easily surmount. Great changes by the advance of the land upon the water, by earthquakes, or by other causes, he suggests, may have obliterated all traces of the river; and neglect of cultivation, with the drifting of desert sands, has converted the once fruitful country into a desert.

All this effort thus to transpose Egypt and place it in the desert, seems to have originated from the difficulties which Mr.

* For this article, we are indebted to Prof. Stuart.—ED.

B. met with, in finding a fulfilment of various prophecies in the Old Testament respecting the subversion of that country, and which he construes as meaning its total *physical* as well as civil subversion.

The only cure for such hallucinations seems to be a more attentive critical and exegetical study of the prophecies contained in the Old Testament. The nature of figurative language and of prophetic style once being well understood, would liberate Mr. B., or any other reader, from the necessity of such theories, in order to sustain the authority of prediction. Nor can any effectual method of relief from such embarrassments be found, except in this way. Nothing can be more certain, than that the first requisite for an interpreter of the prophecies, is to become thoroughly acquainted with the style and manner of them.

As to the *geography* of the Bible—one of the best internal evidences of the genuineness of this book, (independently of the *moral* nature of its contents), is the known and acknowledged fidelity of its writers in regard to *localities*. Just in proportion to our knowledge of ancient geography, and this too according to the general principles that have been followed, do we find that every thing, both as to countries and cities, is as it should be in the Scriptures. But suppose, for a moment, that Mr. Beke's theory respecting Egypt is true, then how could the Israelites pass over the gulf of Acaba, and direct their way eastward, and yet after a few days come to mount *Sinai* which lies on the peninsula *west* of Acaba? And if they turned back, when once passed over, and again travelled *westward*, why did they not come again in contact with the Egyptians, whose country they had just left?

It is but a few years, since we had an attempt of a similar nature, to transfer the whole of the early localities in Scripture over to Hindoostan, or into China; and this was the more to be regretted, inasmuch as it ruined what might otherwise have been a good and useful edition of the sober and judicious Wells, whose sacred geography has long had a general currency in the English world. *Pudet* has nugas! When will visionaries cease to substitute the reveries of their own brain, for plain and well established facts? Never, it is to be feared, until it becomes as easy to study long enough and with sufficient effort to make one's self master of a subject, as it is to dress it up with mere conjectures and dreamy phantasies. These cost but little time, and do not require much talent; and besides, they are apt to make some

noise because they are new, or attract perhaps some attention because they are ingenious. The unlucky wight that burned the temple of Diana, had some notion of a like nature in his head, about an easy method of procuring immortality of fame.

The object of this notice is not a formal review, not even a brief one, of the principles of Mr. Beke's book. The reader who wishes to see such a review, may consult the *London Quarterly*, No. CIV. (Amer. edit. Vol. I. No. 2), where he will find a sober and fair-minded account of Mr. Beke's labours, and a pretty just estimate of their success. If the work reviewed were worth the trouble of more serious attention, even many more objections to its positions might easily be raised, than are there brought to view. But 'the game would not be worth the hunting.'

Mr. Beke, it would seem, is one of those prudent and careful spirits, who is so afraid of the Rationalism of Germany, that he has very scrupulously refrained from even making himself acquainted with what it consists of. With great solemnity and earnestness he lets his readers know, that he has not even read or consulted one of all this *γένος ἀλλοφύλων*. We give him full credit as to the fact. His book presents the most convincing internal evidence that it is true. Not one of all the *Philistines*—although many of them are famous enough for visionary schemes and extravagant conjectures—not one has ventured on any thing like the extravagance of Mr. Beke himself. Their most visionary schemes here are sobriety itself, compared with the phantasies of the book which this timid and *orthodox* Englishman has gravely sent out into the world.

On this point of Mr. Beke's prudential orthodoxy, we cannot refrain from quoting some very just and sober remarks from the *London Quarterly*, as mentioned above.

"Now we may respect the prudent timidity with which Mr. Beke has scrupled to venture his faith in the inspiration of the Scriptures in such dangerous society—yet we cannot but think that he would have conducted his argument, if indeed he had written his book at all, much more to the satisfaction of well-informed and scholar-like readers, if he had enlarged the sphere of his reading in that quarter. We do not urge Milton's bold and characteristic argument, not merely for unlicensed printing, but for the indiscriminate reading of all works, whatever their tendency: —'I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where the immortal

garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.' Still for an author, and an author on a subject of pure erudition, to refuse all communion with one great class of writers who have discussed the subjects on which he treats with most penetrating sagacity, with unwearied diligence, with the full command of all the sources of information, and an intimate acquaintance not with one but with the whole family of Eastern languages, because their theological system is erroneous or imperfect, betrays a pusillanimity of faith somewhat mistrustful of the power and stability of divine truth. Nor is there less ignorance than timidity in this indiscriminate proscription of German biblical learning. If the cautious inquirer will scruple to commune with Bauer or with Eichhorn—if he denies himself the rich treasures of the one great philological and critical commentary on the Old Testament, that of Rosenmüller—the writings of Michaelis, however in some respects more free and curious than suits our rigid tone of writing on such subjects, might have been consulted by the most diffident and scrupulous Christian writer. To such an inquiry the 'Spicilegium Geographiæ exteræ Hebræorum post Bochartum,' with the Epistles of J. Reinhold Forster, is indispensable. From the more learned German writers Mr. Beke would have derived another most essential advantage; he would have seen the necessity of a much more profound and laborious preparation for such a work, of more copious and general reading, of a more critical and extensive acquaintance with the genius and the structure of the Eastern languages. We are constrained to observe, that on many important points, vitally connected with his whole system, he has contented himself with very hasty and second-hand information. His learning is too much that of modern compilations, and derived from the elementary books with which our recent literature swarms. He has seldom consulted, and still more seldom deliberately investigated, the original authorities."

We have quoted this not merely because it contains a very just criticism on the course which Mr. B. has taken, but because it has a bearing on some things which are now and then said in some of our religious newspapers and periodicals, about German writers, and the study of them, and in particular about the preferring of them to the older critical writers. Gesenius, for example, if we are to believe some of our periodical curators, has become defunct before his death, and lives to see his *posthumous* fame, or rather his want of fame. His Grammar, his Isaiah, his Hebrew Lexicon, all are going, or are soon to go, into insignificance, either as error or as patch-work, compared with the octodecim *Lexicon* of Buxtorf, with its profound Rabbinical lore, and his *Thesaurus Grammaticus* and other critical and philological works. Geier and Cocceius and Buxtorf, and

other worthies of like gigantic stature, who flourished in days of yore, are once more to renew their youth in the midst of us, and we are to have Cabbala, and double sense, and *ὑπόνοια*, and allegorical interpretation, until we get back again to the early part of the sixteenth century from whence we started. What is old and has been long tried, must, as the writers in question seem to intimate, be good and sound; what is new, of course can be manufactured only in schools of *neology*.

In such a strain we find a few editors of newspapers and periodicals talking and writing; and it is thus that some will probably never cease to talk and write, so long as they wish to make a display of orthodoxy, or in some way to attract the particular notice and favour of those, who, from the best of motives, are jealous of changes, and slow (as indeed they should be), in admitting innovations. But either gravely, or through desire of attracting public notice, or through petulance, to advance the positions that philology has not made some very important advances during the last forty years, can, in our own sober apprehension, prove nothing more, than that a man is unacquainted with the true nature of that which he affirms, or else that he has some feelings in his breast that it would not be very creditable for him fully to disclose. It is too late in the day to decry *en masse* the philology of Germany, when all Europe and most of America is receiving lexicons, grammars, and commentaries from her. It is too late also to hinder men of fair and independent minds from "proving all things," in order that they may know "what is good" and "hold it fast."

If the subject were not too grave for amusement, it might afford us some, only to pass in review a few of the fantastic notions that are adopted and maintained by some who are so scrupulous about saying a word in favour of any book written by a *neologist*. Mr. Beke, as presented to view above, is a good specimen of this. No German visionary ever yet ventured on any thing like the extravagance of his notions. Yet he is withal, (we mean in his own estimation), very grave and *orthodox* in all this. The true state of the case with such men seems to be, that their own notions are the ultimate test of orthodoxy; and in these notions, whether they be new or old, they may go to any length, provided they can only assume a very grave and demure look whenever *neology* is mentioned, avoid reading works tainted with this poison, and earnestly caution others against it.

But to be more serious ; we have a strong dislike to the *inuendo* method of dealing out proscription of writers, who have high excellencies, whatever may be their faults. As we view matters, we must think that it is impossible for a candid Hebraist to sit down and read ten pages of Gesenius' Lexicon, and then compare it with the older ones, without feeling that all attempts at proscription are utterly in vain. And then, who is obliged to follow his *theology*? of which, by the way, he has but little indeed in his lexicon, or even in his commentary. Men who denounce his philology, are bound to show some reasons for so doing, other than appeal to vituperative declamation and *inuendo*. If his works are *refuse*, then let those who believe and say it, speedily give us samples of better ones. This would be a proof of their assertions that would be to some purpose ; and this is all the penalty that we would impose upon them ; and to impose this, we are aware, does not speak much for our moderation. Until then, we shall suspect that it is much easier to *denounce*, and to decry, and to hold up to suspicion, and to affect high orthodoxy, than it is to *philologize*.

We should do injustice to ourselves, if we did not say, moreover, that with German *neology* we have no sympathy. We do from our hearts verily believe, that much of it is real unbelief in the testimony of God ; and that it is therefore hostile to the interests of vital piety or godliness. In every shape and form, so far as it is *neology*, we are, and have always been, frankly and openly opposed to it. But we do not profess yet to have attained to that state of advance in opposition to heresy or unbelief, which will lead us to hold it to be criminal to love wheat-bread because Voltaire was fond of it, or wrong to believe that a triangle is not a square, because David Hume was of much the same way of thinking. *Fas est ab hoste doceri*, even a heathen could say. Is it too much to expect as high a degree of self-denial from meek and humble Christians? What Gesenius or any other neologist has exhibited that is good and true, we should like to see and know and believe ; and even their errors we would not willingly be ignorant of. Can it be that in an age like this, our young ministers must remain unacquainted with what the opponents of evangelical principles are doing, in order to thwart the progress of the Gospel? Above all, can it be, that such as take great pains to make young men acquainted with all the heresies of more than 1600 years' standing, and with great labour dig them out from the lowest bed of oblivion,

in which they lie covered by the ruins which so many ages have strewed over them, and insist that the young aspirant to the sacred office should understand, and be able to give an account of and to refute, them all—can it be that such are to raise high their voices against the use of *neological* books? Is it then the duty of our young ministers to refute heresies that were dead and buried and forgotten more than one thousand five hundred years before they were born, and are they to know nothing of those that now agitate and threaten the church? How shall they contend against the powers of darkness, if they are ignorant of their arts, their strength, or their arms? And will it be said, that young men who are designed for the ministry, should become acquainted with the views of the antagonists of sound principles, only through the medium of that instruction which the advocates of good principles may give? That such views must be presented only by the professors in our seminaries, or by others who are able to teach? If this should be avowed or intimated, as it often has been, then we should say, that in no other case do we resort, or think it lawful or expedient to resort, to such a method of making men acquainted with different sides of grave questions. All men demand to hear both sides; and this, from the parties interested, in order that they may get possession of full and proper views of any disputed point. A course different from this would necessarily presuppose, that the teacher of youth will of course give an account of heretical or opposing views, that is altogether candid, full, impartial, and just; and all this, without making any implication of consequences from principles, which the advocates of that opinion would neither make nor admit. But, alas! on other times than such as we now live in, must we fall, before we find all our professors and teachers to be exactly of this character; even allowing that all of them have ability to understand and develope, in a clear and intelligible way, what heretics or their opponents have written.

Whenever we cease, or even seem reluctant, to advocate full, fair, open, and free examinations of all questions about truth, then let us take some other name which may more properly belong to us, and no longer profess to be *Protestants*. We have come upon times, at all events, which demand and which will hear *both* sides of all important questions; at least, there is a portion of our community who are of this character. It is then better for us good-naturedly to admit such a hearing; and pre-

pare ourselves accordingly. Young men, therefore, should not be shut out from reading German books, by undistinguishing and contumelious declamation against Germany and neology. It is undoubtedly true, that their curiosity will rather be attracted the more by this. When Rousseau, who well knew the operation of all the principles belonging to the bad part at least of our nature, was determined within himself to procure a most extensive perusal and circulation of his *Confessions*, he placed near the head of them a warning, that no female in France must read it, at the peril of being undone. Scores of thousands read the book, of course, on the very ground of the prohibition, who otherwise would never have looked at it. And so it will be in the case before us. Although we may with good reason believe, that the sober youth of our country can more easily be restrained than the women of France; yet the very fact that they are warned with so much earnestness to let alone the books of German neology, is adapted to excite suspicion that the arguments and views exhibited in those books are of such a nature, that they cannot be expected to retain orthodox convictions, provided they read them. Now it is very poor policy, we do fully believe, for the real friends of truth to appear in any measure as shrinking from the contest with neology, or to carry on a skulking kind of war by shooting poisoned arrows from behind the trees and bushes. But in the open field, face to face, hand to hand, breast to breast, let us have the battle; and if we are not strong enough to meet it, then let us succumb. We know well, that no occult mode of warfare will win the day, in times like these. There are those among our youth, who wish to see with their own eyes, and to hear with their own ears; and who will examine for themselves, and see whether those neologists that have made so much noise in the world, are, after all, mere plunderers from the giants of old, or else mere visionaries and unbelievers, as some declare them to be. Vituperation has ceased to prevent such men from examining; it only provokes them to do it. Why cannot the friends of truth understand that this is one of the *signs of the times*; and demean themselves accordingly?

We have another strong objection against this timid and occult way of managing opposition to neologists. It is this, viz., that there is something that is apparently, not to say really, unfair and ignoble in so doing. Truth needs not to be abashed. It needs no secret and crafty management to promote its interests. In the open day light let her standard be erected, and without

ambushes or any *ruses de guerre*, let all her victories be won. Never have her adversaries so good hold upon the unbelieving world, as when they can appeal to it, and truly say, 'Our opponents are afraid or ashamed to meet us in open contest, because they are conscious of inadequate strength.' Whether this appeal is true or false, matters not as to the end which will be accomplished by it. The world will believe what the proceedings of Christians appear to confirm. *Non tali auxilio*, therefore, we say again, to all the insinuation and inuendo mode of warfare. Let the young candidate for the ministry, from the time that he has strength to enter the lists, be brought upon the battle ground. But let it be under experienced leaders, and not to the thickest part of the battle, at first, before he has strength and skill to ensure victory in the contest. But sooner or later let him see the whole. A different policy throws him out upon the world, a mere *militia-man*, fit only to be ranked with the raw and undisciplined soldiery. The enemy, after all, must be met; for he cannot hinder them from pushing on their conquests as far as possible. Then at last he is called to the combat, without adequate preparation and skill and arms. Why wonder if he succumbs; or at least retreats from the field covered with the disgrace of being worsted?

Such, unhappily, has been the fate of not a few, who were not prepared by the discipline of earlier life for subsequent dangers and duties. We say again, that the heresies of by-gone ages are, for the most part, insignificant matters to us, compared with those which now threaten the church. It is for *present* action and exigencies that we must be prepared. The policy, then, that would shut out books which develope what these exigencies are, cannot be well-timed nor judicious.

In a word, we regret it when we see any of the friends of truth making appeal by calling hard names and insinuating suspicions to the passions and prejudices of Christians, in order to enlist their feelings against neology. But it is not that we have any sympathy in favour of neology; nor that we would count it even a *neutral* power, in the great contest that is going on between truth and error. War—war until victory or death—we say, with all our hearts, against every opinion which disclaims, or sets lightly by, the *divine* authority of Revelation! But we say also: Let us take the *open* field. Let it no longer be supposed, that appeal to the arts of creating and fostering prejudice, is to manage such a war with success. The lover of truth, in

order to commend himself and his cause to the world, must show that he is indeed a lover of truth; that he can receive and love it even when he must take it from an opponent; and that he is more concerned to refute the arguments of his adversary, than he is to pour upon him a shower of revilings and execration. The advocate for the high and holy principles of the gospel should never forget, that, while we are "to contend earnestly for the faith delivered to the saints," our first duty is to make ourselves acquainted by deep and diligent study with what that faith is; not to assume that it was this or that, even when creeds or confessions may have said so. When all this is done, (a matter which we believe to be very often neglected by such as manage contention with the fiercest spirit), then, in the second place, such an advocate is to remember, that it is written in a certain book which neologists have not been able as yet to set aside, and which indeed their efforts (often against their own intentions) have been made to illustrate and confirm, that "the servant of the Lord *must not strive, but be gentle* unto all men, apt to teach, patient, *in meekness* instructing those that oppose themselves." This same *apt to teach* is a thing, that declamatory sarcasm does not very successfully exhibit; and as to *patience* and *meekness*, we seek in vain amid the arrogance of denunciations for such virtues.

In fine, we are told in the same blessed book, which all the neologists in Germany and the infidels of England and America have in vain endeavoured to overthrow, and the credit of which all the powers of earth and hell never can in any measure shake or destroy, that Michael, the archangel, when contending with the devil, durst not bring a *railing* accusation against him. The good angel no doubt well knew, that on this ground Satan might be more than an over-match for him. Now if he refrained from thus speaking of Satan himself, it argues no very high attainments in moderation, for us to refrain from the like accusations against those who are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.

We would ask, in the spirit of Christian candour and meekness toward the enemies of truth, and toward neologists whom we are reluctantly compelled to number with them,—we would ask our Christian brethren, whether we are most likely to gain the ear of such, and their hearts too, by contumelious insinuations and reproaches, or by open and candid argument and fair and honourable contest? We feel assured, that only one answer can be given to this question, by the considerate, generous, and fair-minded.

We may be permitted to add, without the imputation of saying it for invidious purposes, that we greatly desire to see specimens of better lexicography, grammar, commentary, geography, &c., produced by those who make light of and reproach the German ones. Then we will assuredly and readily give up our German *cousins*, and cleave to those of our own household. Until then, it must be expected, that at least one part of the public will not receive declamation for argument, nor contumelious reviling and inuendo for good philology.

2.—*Papers respecting the Aboriginal Tribes of the Canadas, ordered to be printed by the British House of Commons, 14th August, 1834.*

The Indians of Lower Canada consist of the undermentioned tribes.

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|---|------------|
| Hurons at Lorette, near Quebec, | 179 souls. |
| Algonquins, Three Rivers, | 82 “ |
| Abenaguais, Becanour, | 96 “ |
| do. St. Francis, | 363 “ |
| Iroquois, Caughnawagua, | 967 “ |
| do. St. Regis, | 348 “ |
| do. Lake of Two Mountains, | 282 “ |
| Algonquins, do. | 355 “ |
| Nipissings, do. | 250 “ |
| Micmacs, from N. Brunswick & N. Scotia, | 450 “ |

Total, 3,372 souls.

The Hurons of Lorette, nine miles from Quebec, have made some advances in civilization, having embraced the Roman catholic religion in an early period of the history of Canada, but their progress seems to be retarded by the jealousies of the Romish church, one of whose missionaries, who receives a salary of £50 per annum from the government, is opposed to the instruction of the children, though several chiefs have expressed themselves favorable to the measure. The Indians are necessarily obliged to continue their original practice of hunting for a subsistence. The Algonquins and Abenaguais of Three Rivers, St. Francis, and Becanour, were once possessed of considerable landed property, of which they have been most cruelly deprived by the knavery of various designing individuals.

The Algonquins and Nipissings of the Lake of the Mountain, are an active and intelligent race, settled in a village, without landed property, but so efficient in hunting as to contribute a large amount of furs to the Hudson Bay and North West companies. The intrusions of the whites are, however, rendering their situation uncomfortable. The Iroquois of Sault St. Louis and Caughnawagua, are settled in a village about nine miles above Montreal. A Romish priest, paid by government, resides among them, and exerts all his influence to exclude education. The great council fires of all the Iroquois are held at Caughnawagua. All the Indians in the Lower Province profess the Roman catholic religion.

In Upper Canada are the following tribes. Near Kingston, 163 Mohawks and 253 Mississaguas; near York, 258 Chippewas and 68 Mississaguas; near Fort George, 205 Mohawks, 105 Onondagas, 20 Senecas, 35 Oneidas, 243 Cayugas, 44 Tuscaroras, 80 Delawares, and 83 of other tribes; near Amherstberg, 966 Chippewas, 466 Ottawas, 290 Potawatamies, 156 Munsies and Moravians, 123 of the Six Nations, and 259 of other tribes; on Drummond Island are 485 Ottawas, 218 Minominees, and 654 Chippewas. These, with some others, make the total of Indians in Upper Canada, 12,919. The schools, under the care of the "Canada Conference Methodist Missionary Society among the Indians of Upper Canada," are 10, embracing 251 scholars. The methodist preachers, says the episcopal bishop of Quebec, have been very successful in converting a great portion of the Mississagua tribe, from heathen ignorance and immoral habits to Christian faith and practice; and this improvement has been so great and rapid within these few years, that the hand of God seems visible in it, and it must be acknowledged that they have done much in the work of their civilization. It commenced on the River Credit, and has extended to various settlements of the nation for a considerable distance. A great proportion of the tribe have become sober and industrious in their habits, well clad as to their persons, and religious in their life and conversation. The first and principal instruments were two brothers of the name of Jones. The whole number of Indians, who have come under the influence of the methodist missions, probably amounts to 2,000. "All the Christian Indians," in the language of Peter Jones, "have put away the fire waters, and love to have schools, and wish to live in houses, and learn to work; and they improve very

fast." At the River Credit, they have 40 houses, including a chapel, a school house, a work shop, and a saw mill. The Mohawks and the Six Nations, who removed from the river Mohawk, in the State of New York, at the close of the revolutionary war, amount to nearly 2000 souls ; and are settled on a fine and fertile tract of country, on the banks of the Grand River. They now retain 260,000 acres, mostly of the best quality. Large tracts have been sold by them, with the permission of his majesty's government ; the monies arising from which sale, either funded in England, or lent in Canada, amount to £1,500 per annum.

The Society for Propagating the Gospel have allowed a salary to a catechist, an Indian of a very good character, in the bay of Quinté, since 1810 ; they have also an Indian catechist, who is master of the Indian languages, on the Grand river. Their missionaries, in the neighborhood of these two settlements of Indians, have always been in the practice of visiting them and performing clerical duties among them. The New England company of London have turned their attention, since 1827, to the establishing of schools and missionaries.

The amount of expenses per annum to the British government of the Indian department, according to the reduced establishment, is about £27,000 ; of which the presents to the Indians amount to £18,000. We regret to see in recent estimates, that 141 gallons of *rum* were included. We believe, however, that the colonial government are becoming more and more impressed with the importance of promoting temperate and sober habits among the Indians. The British colonial secretary has directed the government of the Canadas to give such presents as are likely to produce a taste for agricultural employments, rather than such as are calculated to keep alive their passion for the chase and for war ; and, also, to promote in every possible manner, the progress of religious knowledge and of education generally. A primary and material step to be taken is to induce the Indians to settle in townships, or upon detached lots of ground, in a manner similar to the European settlers and their descendants. In reading a great amount of correspondence on this subject, we have become convinced that the British and Canadian government are determined to pursue a much more humane and generous policy towards the aborigines, than has prevailed hitherto.

3.—*Works of Claudius.*

Matthias Claudius, a distinguished German author, was born in 1741, near Lübeck, and died at Hamburg, in 1815. In the latter part of his life, he became deeply imbued with religious feelings. His writings have been extremely popular in Germany. "Some of his little poetic pieces are gems of the highest order, familiar to every rank and age in Germany, from the cottage to the throne, and from the cradle to the grave."* His complete works, up to 1812, have been published in eight volumes. A friend of ours, a native German, now in a foreign land, has sent us a translation of a part of a preface of Claudius, prefixed to his translation of a French work, entitled, "*Des erreurs et de la vérité*," by St. Martin. "I doubt not," says our correspondent, "you will find some grains of gold in it. They are not, like those of many a writer now, beaten out upon the anvil into broad scales, and polished, and fixed up to sight; but simply thrown out, if, peradventure, somebody may go by and pick them up." We now proceed to the translation from Claudius :

The book, "*Des erreurs et de la vérité*," is a singular book, and literary men hardly know what to make of it. For none seem to understand it; and yet, that upon which judgment is to be pronounced, should be *eminently* understood.

Now and then, indeed, the author opens his mouth and speaks, as e. g. his remarks on the origin of evil, and on the freedom of man, and in various other places; and what he says on these subjects is rather more satisfactory than the current notions hitherto. Most of the time, however, he goes about, like a ghost, his mouth shut, and with his uplifted finger pointing at something beyond our sphere of knowledge. His hints and remarks are by all means grand and cheering, like the distant mountain tops of our native land; but, at the same time, they are so eccentric and so strange, that our understanding seems to be unable to apply her compass any where, or to connect, classify or arrange them at all for her purpose.

This, however, is no great matter. For if *our* understanding has an acquaintance merely—and a limited one too—with the wilderness of the material world, then the promised land begins just there, where *she* begins to gnash her teeth and to wring her

* Boston Recorder, Aug. 22, 1834.

hands in despair. And if *Wisdom* does not grow in the field of literature and learning as it is now,—a position which hardly one of the tillers of that soil will maintain earnestly,—then hints and remarks on *Wisdom* must naturally appear strange. The authenticity of such hints and remarks remains to be decided, to be sure; and we ought by no means to take inconsiderately *that* for fire from heaven, which after all may be a mere *ignis fatuus*, or the twinkling of a glow-worm.

Many of the readers will allow no *fire* at all to our author, but smoke only; and they compare his book with a picture, where the horizon is all wrapt in clouds. They may have their reasons for judging thus. Nor is the comparison with a cloudy picture inapposite; and there are pictures of that kind, where a hand comes forth from the clouds endeavoring to impart something. The disposition of an author, his motive, and his object, they are the best guide-board in judging him; and he usually adds it to his work as a card for his experienced reader, though often ignorantly, and much against his own will and advantage. Nor do I, myself, understand the book. But, besides an impression of superiority and confidence, I find in it purity of motive, and extraordinary mildness, and elevation of sentiment, and rest, and internal peace. And that must needs come home to the *heart*. Do we not all want peace, do we not all seek rest, and find none! And there is no purity, no rest, no peace, except in the element of holiness.

Doubtless, one or another of our literati will undertake to refute the author. But, *first*, there is much difficulty in refuting a book which is not understood. For if we take out of the work some disconnected sentences, measuring them by *our* scale, and just as the *words* sound in themselves, we are in danger of attributing, by our own fault, a meaning to the author which is not his; specially when he declares, that he often says one thing and means quite another, and that he generally keeps back a great deal of the sense in his mind. And *then*, the main doctrine of our author is this, viz. Man, left to himself, and without the guidance of an universal, temporal, active, and intelligent cause, (as he calls it,) runs himself into mere error and folly, knows and effects nothing without that cause, just as with it, every thing. By that position, the most thorough refutations of the learned are at once deprived of their sting; and the best, yea, the only way to bring about something would be *this*, viz. to labor to become acquainted with that Cause, if it ex-

ists, and to be guided by it. Then the matter would be clear, we should be a match for the author, and could judge of his performance, and decide whether it is the powerless glare of a meteor, or a star from better worlds.

There may be still stronger objections than this ; this one will, at all events, not settle the question. For look now, I pray thee, at the sun, how he shines, bright and majestic,—but art thou able to pull out a handful of his rays with the roots, to see how they grow ? Canst thou seize the moon and press her sap into a cup ? And yet, behold ! she enlightens all the world, and moistens and affects land and sea, and the ebb sets in and presses up our river with power, though we see her not. But if there are hid from us in the material world so many things for which we enjoy the use of three senses, how shall we judge of immaterial things without the use of that *one* sense, which our author calls the spiritual faculty, or the sense of the spirit ?

But let this book be what it may, thus much is clear ; it sets aside the concerns of the world and temporal matters ; it urges renunciation of our own will, and faith in the truth ; it proclaims the vanity of this world, the weakness and frailty of what is sensitive and human in the nature of man, and the excellency of what is truly intellectual and spiritual in him ; and on every page almost it dissuades you and draws you away from that which is seen and perishing, to lead you to that which is not seen and eternal ! And that is certainly not a bad thing ; and who is he who would not heartily wish success to it ?

And thus I have translated the book ; and he who uses it for that purpose, will certainly do well ; and he who uses it for vain and foolish purposes, will do ill, and he may consider his way and learn wisdom. The fact is, we all grope naturally in the dark, we are embarrassed within ourselves and at a loss, and we cannot extricate ourselves ; and the attempts of the learned to extricate us, are mere ungrateful, unsuccessful efforts. Besides, the realizing sense of our own helplessness, has in every age been a sign of real greatness ; and it is, otherwise, also a fine feeling, and it may be the port where we must set sail if we want to discover the North-west passage.

Man has a spirit within himself whom this world cannot satisfy, who chews with grief and disgust the cud of the husks of this world, and of the thorns and thistles *along the road*, and who longs for his home. Nor has he an abiding place here, and his departure is at hand. And it is obvious enough, how

much or how little *that* wisdom can do for him, which is confined to the narrow sphere of this visible and material world. It may be valuable and dear to him here below in many respects, but it cannot *satisfy* him. How should it satisfy him, if material nature herself cannot, but deserts him by the way, and when he is carried to the grave, remains behind him in his study, like his globe and his electrical machine?

That which is to *satisfy* him must be *in* him, of his nature, and immortal like himself. While he sojourns here below, it must instruct and console in view of the principle, purpose and course of this material world, and of all her imperfections and scars, and in the land of embarrassment and subjection, it must make him feel in reality confident and free; and when he removes hence, it must go with him through death and dissolution, and, like a friend, accompany him home. This wisdom, I know, is not found in any book, nor can it be purchased with money, nor will a man who divides his heart between God and mammon find it. Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground! But that wisdom does *exist*; we know it. And the man who is conscious of the breath of life in his nostrils, will take it to heart, and if he does not find her in the visible and material world, nor in his own speculation, he will receive and improve wholesome counsel, and seek her elsewhere.

- 4.—*Christian Ethics ; or Moral Philosophy on the principle of Divine Revelation.* By Ralph Wardlaw, D. D. From the second London edition, with an introductory Essay by Leonard Woods, D. D. New York : D. Appleton & Co. Boston : William Peirce. 1835. pp. 380.

WE have long regarded the instability of our systems of mental philosophy as a most extraordinary fact. From the days of Aristotle, the science of mind has been in constant fluctuation. The great object of successive writers has been to demolish the superstructure of some predecessor. Such has been the fact in every country where the subject has received any degree of attention. The arts, the physical, and some of the intellectual sciences have been comparatively defined and settled. Why has mental and moral science been in ceaseless agitation? Men of sagacious and of comprehensive intellect, in great numbers,

have devoted many years of enthusiastic study to the faculties and operations of the human mind. Why have they not succeeded? Because, we unhesitatingly aver, that they have overlooked or neglected the real condition of human nature, and the authoritative statements of divine revelation. Here, we believe, is an adequate explanation of the failure of many successive systems of philosophy. The authors of them have not looked at man's nature *as it is*. They have gone about constructing systems for angels, or for beings who never tasted the bitter fruits of apostacy. In so doing, they have exhibited as much wisdom as our astronomers would, if they should spend a whole laborious life in teaching the doctrines of Ptolemy or of Tycho Brahe. While such astronomers might communicate many important truths, they would not develope the principles of astronomy. So Stewart and Brown have illustrated various topics in philosophy with great eloquence and truth and beauty. But they fail in the origin of their inquiries, and so fail fundamentally. Their lectures are not strictly on the *human* mind, but on the qualities of certain imaginary beings. To point out this fatal error of the philosophers is the great object of Dr. Wardlaw's treatise. He examines successively, so far as this point is concerned, the systems of Aristotle, Zeno, Epicurus, Cudworth, Clarke, Price, Adam Smith, Hutcheson, Dr. Thomas Brown, Hume, bishop Butler, and others. He allows the great merit of many of these writers, particularly of Butler, but maintains that important errors have crept into all their systems, in a greater or less degree, because they did not proceed sufficiently on the assumption of the depravity of man. He then discusses the rule of duty, which he considers to be the will of the Governor of the world, as made known in the Scriptures and by the law of nature and conscience. In consequence, however, of the obliteration of the disposition to do our Maker's will, conscience has become so sadly defaced and confused in its characters and impressions, that, though it leaves man accountable as a subject of a moral government, yet it has been rendered as a standard of right and wrong, incompetent and unsatisfactory, itself requiring to be rectified by the light of divine revelation. The origin of virtue, or the primary principles of moral obligation, Dr. W. considers to be the nature or the character of the Supreme Being. To this conclusion he comes, after a careful inquiry into the theories of Paley, Edwards, Dwight, Mackintosh, Hume, and others. The general argument of Dr. Wardlaw is

conducted, in our opinion, with great ability, and placed on an immovable basis. Many persons, who will agree with him in his main positions, will dissent from his views on the subject of conscience, and from some of his strictures on the sentiments of Cudworth, Edwards and others. But all lovers of divine revelation will thank him for these seasonable and excellent lectures. He has shown great moral courage by publishing to the world views which strike so deeply into the roots of intellectual pride. We can easily imagine the perfect scorn with which many of the philosophers of this world will regard such an effort. We trust, however, that it is but the commencement of a series. Moral and political science has been long enough divorced from Christianity. If there is to be a contest before the paramount claims of the Bible will be admitted, the sooner that contest begins the better. Let it be managed with candor, good temper, due allowance of the merits of philosophy, and in accordance with the principles of correct taste, and we may anticipate the most favorable results. Philosophy will sit at the feet of Jesus, and learn of him who was meek and lowly; truth will be promoted, and the creatures of God made better and happier.

5.—*Bockshammer on the Freedom of the Human Will. Translated from the German, with additions. By A. Kaufman, Jr. of the Theological Seminary, Andover. Andover: Gould & Newman. 1835. pp. 199.*

FROM the preface of the translator of this volume, we learn that Bockshammer was a pastor in the village of Bittenhausen in Würtemberg. He died in 1822. In addition to the tract on the Will, he wrote a larger work, entitled, "Revelation and Theology," which is highly spoken of in his native country. In religion and philosophy, he belonged to the same class with Schleiermacher, Neander, Olshausen, Heinroth, Twisten, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, and others well known in this country. From a private source we learn that the treatise herewith presented to the public is much esteemed in Germany. "The will," Bockshammer defines, "as a Conscious Energy, the fountain of actions which spring from the union of powers towards objects and designs. It is originally both the mover and the connecting bond of powers, whereby arises a spiritual and personal life. Immediately and simultaneously with the I, exists also the will; and conversely, where there is no will there

is no personality, because where this is wanting, rude power may operate, passion and instinct may reign, but no conscious energy regulating itself with self-subsistent determination and design." "Negatively expressed, Freedom is to be regarded as the absence of all force and compulsion ; positively, as conscious self-determination, in which there is given a spiritual personality or self-subsistence." "We may well be at a loss to explain the *universality* of sin upon the earth, to show how it is, that every human being as soon as it attains to a state of consciousness, at the same time finds within itself a consciousness of evil. Not that we would be understood to affirm that the whole human race is involved in one and the same state of wickedness, equal in degree ; but as men now are no one feels that freedom from guilt which conscience demands, and all moral excellence here below must be attained through the travails of a new birth. And whenever man wishes to possess any thing actually good, and to have it grow and become a living principle, he must first root out and deaden the weeds of evil which stand in the way. The entire race of man, as it presents itself to the eye of daily observation and experience, at the same time that it is endowed with invaluable powers and talents, is yet infected with hankering desires after that which is forbidden ; and whosoever has remaining a sufficiency of moral energy impartially to contemplate his inmost self, will there find, not indeed a necessity of sin, but yet somewhat already existent without his agency or concurrence, somewhat which his better voice cannot approve but commands him firmly to resist." "The occasioning cause of a *universal evil disposition* should be sought for in something out of the will, namely, in an excited and strengthened sensuousness, in a preponderance of the irrational principle, which, in its present state, is interwoven into the very being of human nature. Through this preponderating influence of the sensuous, the will is stunned and can be easily seduced to sin." "Human nature after the fall became something very different from the first and original nature ; not differing indeed in essence and substance, but in regard to the reciprocal relation of its powers. This modification could not possibly have entered into the first parents of the human family without leaving a physical influence upon their posterity ; and hence we have, not an hereditary sin, (for the conception of such a sin is in itself a contradiction, and the will is the one thing which cannot be transmitted as an inheritance,) but a predominance of the irrational principle, pro-

pagated by generation,—a continual solicitation from the natural side of our being, which is always striving to raise itself from the depths to which it belongs, and to gain over man that dominion which it was never designed to exercise.”

We forbear making any further extracts. We would have given an analysis of the entire argument had it not been nearly impracticable. There is no chapter, section or division of any sort. Perhaps the nature of the argument forbids any artificial bounds. We advise our readers, who are interested in works of this sort, to purchase the book, and read it for themselves. They will find it well worth a perusal, though they should not agree with all the positions of the author.

- 6.—*Select Letters of Pliny the Younger, with Notes illustrative of the Manners, Customs, and Laws of the Ancient Romans. For the use of Schools.* Boston: Perkins, Marvin & Co. 1835. pp. 143.

THE popularity of Pliny has been shown by the number of editions which the translation has passed through, both in England and in this country. In respect to the moral tone of his works, Pliny is in the first rank of Latin writers. Important information on a variety of subjects is also communicated. Illustrative notes occupy nearly sixty pages.

- 7.—*Report of the Copy-Right Case of Wheaton versus Peters, decided in the Supreme Court of the United States, with an Appendix, containing the Acts of Congress relating to Copy-Right.* New York: James Van Norden. 1834. pp. 176.

HENRY WHEATON, now employed in the diplomatic service of the United States in Prussia, is the author of twelve volumes of the reports of cases argued and adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, and commonly known as Wheaton's Reports, which contain a connected and complete series of the decisions of the courts from 1816 to 1827. Previously to the printing of the first volume, Wheaton sold the copy-right of it to Matthew Carey, who afterwards conveyed it to the firm of Matthew Carey & Sons. Subsequently, Robert Donaldson and Wheaton became the proprietors of the copy-right of the volume. At the expiration of the term of fourteen years, the

copy-right was secured for a second term. A copy-right of the subsequent volumes was also secured, but owing to the lapse of time and other causes, the department of State could afford no evidence whether a copy had been delivered there agreeably to the provisions of the copy-right laws. It was, however, insisted by the complainants, that if they should be unable to prove that copies were delivered in conformity with the acts of congress, they would still, by the common law, be entitled to the benefits of said acts. In 1831, Peters and Grigg issued from the press in Philadelphia all the reports of cases contained in the first volume of Wheaton, without material alteration or abbreviation. The remaining volumes of Wheaton were afterwards published in the same manner. On filing the bill, an injunction was granted against the further sale or publication of the condensed reports. In September, 1832, the defendants put in their answers, and moved to dissolve the injunction. This motion was denied, the presiding judge being opposed to its dissolution, and the district judge being in favor of dissolving it. On the final hearing, in January, 1833, Mr. justice Baldwin, the presiding judge, being detained from the bench by illness, the district judge pronounced a decree dismissing the bill and dissolving the injunction. An appeal was entered on the spot, and the case came up before the Supreme Court of the United States, January term, 1834; Messrs. Webster and Paine were counsel for the complainants, Messrs. Sergeant and Ingersoll for the defendants. The opinion of the court was pronounced by Judge M'Lean; chief justice Marshall and judges Story and Duvall concurring. It was decided that the cause of the complainants could not be sustained at common law, no custom, usage, or judicial decision being given, justifying the conclusion that by the common law of Pennsylvania, an author has a perfect property in the copy-right of his works. The cause was remanded to the circuit court with directions to that court to order an issue of facts to be examined and tried by a jury, whether the complainants had complied with the requirements of the statutes of the United States. Judges Thompson and Baldwin delivered separate opinions dissenting from those pronounced by the court. The arguments of the learned counsel and the opinions of the court embody a great variety of important facts, to which we may advert again.

8.—*Prometheus of Aeschylus.*

IN the last volume, just issued, of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of Great Britain, is an essay by Mr. S. T. Coleridge, introductory to a series, in which he proposed to treat of the following topics. 1. The elucidation of the purpose of the Greek drama, and the relations in which it stood to the mysteries on the one hand, and to the State or sacerdotal religion on the other. 2. The connection of the Greek tragic poets with philosophy as the peculiar offspring of Greek genius. 3. The connection of the Homeric and cyclical poets with the popular religion of the Greeks; and lastly from all these,—namely, the mysteries, the sacerdotal religion, their philosophy before and after Socrates, the stage, the Homeric poetry and the legendary belief of the people; and from the sources and productive causes in the derivation and confluence of the tribes that finally shaped themselves into a nation of Greeks,—to give a juster and more distinct view of this singular people, and of the place which they occupied in the system of the world and of the great scheme of Divine Providence, than has hitherto been given, or than it appears possible to give by any other process.

The first essay is taken up in an attempt to answer the following questions: What proof is there of the fact of any connection between the Greek drama and either the mysteries or philosophy of the Greeks? Was it not the office of the tragic poet, under a disguise of the sacerdotal religion, mixed with the legendary or popular belief, to reveal as much of the mysteries interpreted by philosophy, as would counteract the demoralizing effects of the State religion, without compromising the tranquillity of the State itself, or weakening that paramount reverence, without which a republic, like those of ancient Greece could not exist? As a reply to these inquiries, and as a proof and instance, the *Prometheus of Aeschylus* is given, accompanied with an exposition of the intention of the poet, and the mythic import of the work. “The earliest Greeks,” says Mr. Coleridge, “took up the religious and lyrical poetry of the Hebrews; and the schools of the prophets were, however partially and imperfectly, represented by the mysteries derived through the corrupt channel of the Phœnicians. With these secret schools of physiological theology, the mythical poets were

doubtless in connection ; and it was these schools which prevented polytheism from producing all its natural sensualizing effects. The mysteries and the mythical hymns and paeans shaped themselves gradually into epic poetry and history on the one hand, and into the ethical tragedy and philosophy on the other. Under their protection, and that of a youthful liberty, secretly controlled by a species of internal theocracy, the sciences, and the sterner kinds of the fine arts, viz. architecture and statuary, grew up together, followed, indeed, by painting ; but an austere idealized painting, which did not degenerate into mere copies of the sense, till the process for which Greece existed had been completed."

1. The Greeks alone brought forth *Philosophy* in the proper sense of the term. In the primary sense, philosophy had for its aim and proper subject the *τὰ περὶ ἀρχῶν*, *de originibus rerum*, as far as man proposes to discover the same in and by the pure reason alone. This was the *offspring* of Greece, elsewhere *adopted* only. The predisposition appears in their earliest poetry.

2. The first object, or subject-matter of Greek philosophizing, was in some measure philosophy itself. Great minds turned inward on the fact of the *diversity* between man and beast ; a superiority of *kind*, in addition to that of degree ; the latter, i. e. difference in *degree*, comprehending the more enlarged sphere and the manifold application of faculties common to man and animals ; even this being, in a great measure, a transfusing from the former, namely, from the superiority in *kind*. In the Greek of Heraclitus, the senior and almost the contemporary of Aeschylus, we see already the dawn of approaching manhood. The substance is philosophy, the form only is poetry. The Prometheus is a *philosopheme*.

3. The generation of the *νοῦς*, or pure reason in man. It was superadded or infused, *a supra*, to mark that it could not have grown out of the other faculties of man, his life, sense, understanding. The *νοῦς*, or fire, was *stolen*, to mark its *diversity*, its difference in kind from the faculties which are common to man with the nobler animals. It was stolen from *heaven*, to mark its superiority in kind, as well as its essential diversity. It was a *spark*, to mark that it was not subject to any modifying reaction from that on which it immediately acts, that it suffers no change, and receives no accession from the inferior. It is

bestowed by a god, and by a god of the race before the *dynasty* of Jove, intended to mark the transcendency of the *vous*.

4. The Greeks agreed with the cosmogonies of the East in deriving all sensible forms from the *Inextinguishable*. Here, the peculiar, the philosophic genius of Greece began its throb. Here it individualized itself in contradistinction from the Hebrew archology, on one side, and from the Phœnician on the other. The Phœnician confounded the Indistinguishable with the Absolute. Their cosmogony was their theogony and *vice versâ*. Hence followed their theurgic rites, magic, worship of the plastic forces, chemical and vital. The Hebrews imperatively assert an unbeginning, creative One, who neither *became* the world ; nor is the world eternally ; nor made the world out of himself by emanation or evolution ; but who *willed* it, and it *was*. The Greek *philosopheme*, preserved for us in the Aeschylilian Prometheus, stands midway between both, yet is distinct in kind from either. With the Hebrew, it assumes an indeterminate Elohim, antecedent to the matter of the world, supersensuous and divine. But on the other hand, it coincides with the Phœnician, in considering this antecedent ground of corporeal matter, not so properly the cause of the latter, as the *occasion*, and the still continuing *substance*. The corporeal was considered to be coessential with the antecedent of its corporeity. In the Hebrew scheme there is an immutable, unbeginning Creator, antecedent to night or chaos as the including germ of the light and darkness, the chaos itself, and the material world ; in the Phœnician scheme there was a self-organizing chaos, and the omniform nature as the result ; in the Greek, was the chaos, the heavens and the earth, and a sort of οἱ χρόνοι ὑπερχρόνιοι, which answers to the antecedent darkness of the Mosaic system, but to which was attributed a self-polarizing power, a *natura deprum*, to which a vague plurality adhered ; or if any unity was imagined, it was not personal, not a unity of excellence, but simply an expression of the negative, that which was to pass, but which had not yet passed, into distinct form.

5. The ground-work of the Aeschylilian mythus is laid in the definition of Idea and Law, as correlatives that mutually interpret each the other ; an idea with the adequate power of realizing itself, being a law, and a law considered abstractedly from, or in the absence of, the power of manifesting itself in its appropriate product, being an idea. Whether this be the *true* phi-

losophy, is not the question. The school of Aristotle would, of course, deny, the Platonic affirm it ; for in this consists the difference of the two schools. Both acknowledge ideas as distinct from the mere generalizations from objects of sense ; both would define an idea as an *ens rationale*, to which there can be no adequate correspondent in sensible experience. But according to Aristotle, ideas are regulative only, and exist only as functions of the mind ; according to Plato, they are constitutive, also, and one in essence with the power and life of nature, and this was the philosophy of the mythic poets, who like Aeschylus, adopted the secret doctrines of the mysteries as the not always safely disguised antidote to the debasing influences of the religion of the State. Jove is the *mens agitans molem*, and, at the same time, the *molem corpoream ponens et constituens*. So far the Greek philosopheme does not differ essentially from the cosmotheism, or the identification of God with the universe, in which consisted the first apostacy of mankind after the flood, when they combined to raise a temple to the heavens, and which is still the favored religion of the Chinese. Prometheus represents in a general sense, a fellow-tribesman both of the *dii majores*, with Jove at their head, and of the *Titans* or *dii pacati*. He represents Idea, and in this sense, the friend and counsellor of Jove ; also the divine humanity, the humane god, who retained unseen, or stole a portion of the living spirit of law, which remained with the celestial gods.

6. The *voûs* is bound to a rock, the immoveable firmness of which is indissolubly connected with its barrenness, its non-productivity.

7. Solitary. The kindred deities come to him, some to soothe, to condole ; others to give weak yet friendly counsels of submission ; others to tempt and insult. The most prominent of the latter is Hermes, the impersonation of Interest.

8. Finally, against all obstacles, a son of Jove himself, but a descendant from Io, the mundane religion, an Alcides Liberator will arise, and, the *voûs*, or divine principle in man, will be the Prometheus delivered.

ARTICLE VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS AND LITERARY NOTICES.

UNITED STATES.

No important biblical work has appeared from the American press, during the last quarter. The first No. of Prof. Bush's commentary on the Psalms has been very favorably noticed in all parts of the country. We trust that a liberal patronage will be afforded to the undertaking. The second number is not yet issued.—Rev. Albert Barnes's Notes on the Gospels have had an extraordinary sale, not far from 12,000 copies having been disposed of. His Notes on the first fourteen chapters of the Acts, and on the Epistle to the Romans have appeared.—Rev. Dr. Hodge, professor of biblical literature in the Princeton Theological Seminary, has published proposals for a new commentary on the Romans.—The fifth edition of Prof. Stuart's Hebrew Grammar is nearly through the press. It is gratifying to observe an increasing demand for this grammar, as well as for other elementary works in the same language. The new theological seminaries in the southern and western states are opening new sources for the sale of books in sacred philology. This is one of the advantages of theological institutions. A principal reason for the little spirit with which sacred literature has been cultivated in England is the want of public theological seminaries.—Proposals have been issued at Cambridge for publishing by subscription, "Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities." by the Rev. John G. Palfrey, professor of biblical literature in Harvard University. Vol. I. to embrace the four last books of the Pentateuch. Vol. II. Genesis and the early prophets. Vol. III. later historical books and later prophets. Vol. IV. the remaining canonical and apocryphal writings. The price of the four volumes is to be ten dollars.—The following work has been announced at Cincinnati: "Hebrew Grammar and Chrestomathy, or a plain Introduction to the Hebrew language, and to the reading of the Old Testament, by C. E. Stowe, professor of biblical literature in Cincinnati Lane Seminary." It will be comprised in a 12mo. volume of 250 or 300 pages. Its object is to give, according to the writer's own way and mode of teaching, a concise and simple statement of the fundamental principles of the Hebrew language, unembarrassed by rabbinic pedantry or needless technical phraseology.

Alden Bradford, formerly secretary of the State of Massachusetts, has just published in one volume, octavo, a history of Massachusetts from 1620 to 1820, closing with the separation of Maine

and the revision of the Constitution. From the familiar acquaintance of Mr. Bradford with public documents, and with the leading public men, for the last thirty years, we have no doubt he has prepared an authentic and valuable history of the State. The labors of Hutchinson, Prince, the Historical Society, and of the writers of several town histories have accumulated abundant materials for the historian. A philosophical and Christian view of the affairs of Massachusetts is yet a desideratum. We do not understand the reason why church history is so much excluded from notice. The history of Massachusetts, at least for one hundred and fifty years after its settlement, is the history, in an eminent degree, of Christianity. A man, who does not understand the motives, and cannot warmly sympathize with the spirit of the puritans, is not qualified to write our annals. We do not here refer to the excesses of religious zeal, to the persecutions suffered by Mrs. Hutchinson, Roger Williams, and the Quakers, but to the vital piety of the settlers, and to the influence which that piety has exerted on Massachusetts, up to the present time. In these remarks, we do not refer particularly to Bradford's history, but to the general fact. Mr. Bancroft in his history of the United States has shown a remarkable degree of candor and judgment in estimating the character and labors of the pilgrims. He has also the especial merit of having resorted to a wide range of original documents and sources of information. His history, if the remaining volumes correspond to the one already before the public, will be read with interest and profit. It is popular and graphic rather than profound and philosophical. The style is too ambitious, and too highly ornamented for a history. The man, who shall bring out a good history of the United States, must take his time. Nine years are not sufficient. The histories of various States of the Union, so far as we have had opportunity to read them, are rather materials for the future writer, than first rate productions themselves. Hutchinson's Massachusetts is at the head of the list. Dr. Trumbull's history of Connecticut is trustworthy, though the style is rugged.

Mr. Jared Sparks is bringing out a complete edition of the works of Dr. Franklin in the same style with the Washington papers. The last volume will contain a newly written memoir of the philosopher. We trust the biographer will not fail to furnish us with the materials for forming the right conceptions of Dr. Franklin's religious opinions.

The number of literary and miscellaneous journals published in the United States at the present time is about 50. About 14 of them are published quarterly and most of the remainder monthly. Two are in the French language, and seven are republications. The North American Review, we suppose, has the greatest circulation. The medical journals are eight. A law journal is published in each

of the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The religious journals are not far from 40 ; a fourth part of which are issued at Boston, a fourth part at New York, and five at Philadelphia. A number of them are not entirely religious, but literary and miscellaneous. The price varies from five dollars to fifty cents. All are in the English language, and all are original publications. We regret that there are not enterprise and patronage sufficient to warrant the republication of the London Christian Observer and the Eclectic Review. One is the organ of the dissenters, and the other of the evangelical party in the established church. Both are conducted with as much literary ability as is exhibited in several of the British journals which are republished here, and they could not fail to communicate much important literary and religious information. The number of agricultural newspapers and journals is 14, four of which are published in Boston. There are eighteen journals devoted solely to the cause of temperance, besides a large number of other papers which are efficient advocates of the reform. The number of religious newspapers issued in the United States is about 90, of which about 35 are published in New England, 25 in the middle states, 10 in the southern States, and 20 in the western. In the 12 slaveholding States, 18 religious newspapers are published, and in the 12 non-slaveholding States 72. In Boston, 11 are published ; in New York 12 ; and in Philadelphia 7. About 25 are connected with the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, 15 with the Baptists, 17 with the Universalists, 8 with the Methodists, 7 with the Catholics, etc. The circulation of most of these journals is extremely limited. The Methodist Christian Advocate publishes 32,000 copies, the New York Observer 14 or 15, 000. Three or four others may have from 3,000 to 7,000 subscribers ; but the subscription list of three fourths, probably, does not reach 1500 each. Of course, the compensation which is paid to editors is altogether inadequate, and the journals consequently have a feeble and precarious existence. The evils of the present arrangement are great, but the remedies seem to lie beyond our reach. The number of political newspapers issued in the United States in 1775, was 37 ; in 1810, 359 ; in 1828, 851, and in 1835, more than 1400. The number of daily papers is 90. About 1000 of the 1400 are published in the non-slaveholding States.

The principal scientific and literary societies in the United States are the Maine Historical Society, which has published one volume of collections ; the New Hampshire Historical Society, which has published three volumes of collections ; the Massachusetts Historical Society, 24 volumes of collections, incorporated in 1791 ; American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, incorporated in 1780, 5 quarto volumes of memoirs ; American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Ms., one volume of collections, volumes in the

library 12,000; catalogue of the books, pamphlets, MSS, and maps soon to be published; collection of coins, medals, Indian relics, and antiquities very valuable; American Institute of Instruction, Boston, three volumes of lectures; Rhode Island Historical Society, incorporated in 1822; Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, several volumes; Connecticut Historical Society; New York Historical Society, several volumes; New York Literary and Philosophical Society; American Academy of Fine Arts, New York; National Academy of Design, New York; American Lyceum, New York; American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, incorporated 1780, 7 volumes of Transactions; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts; Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, 6 volumes of Transactions; Pennsylvania Historical Society, 4 half-volumes of memoirs; Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society, formed in 1832; North Carolina Institute, formed in 1831; Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina, formed in 1813; Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, formed in 1830; Columbian Institute, Washington, D. C. formed in 1816; and the Algic Society of Michigan Territory, formed to promote a knowledge of the Indian languages, and the civilization of the tribes. It thus appears that 23 Societies of a general literary and scientific character exist in the United States, all of which have published about 60 volumes of memoirs or collections, more than half of them issued in Boston. In most of the older States, State medical societies exist. Several geological, phrenological and other similar institutions have been formed recently. The principal reasons for the languishing condition of most of these institutions are the want of one or two great capitals, State jealousies, the practical and business habits of our people, the want of munificent and noble patrons, the multiplicity of colleges, etc.

The incorporated Colleges and Universities in the United States have reached the prodigious number of 79, about one college for every 150,000 of our population. The number of officers of instruction is 646, and of students 6,450, there being 10 students on an average to one instructor. The volumes of books, possessed by these 79 colleges, including the social libraries of the students, is 350,000. Subtracting the 40,000 of the Harvard library, the remainder 310,000, would give on an average, about 4,000 volumes to each of the colleges. Many of these colleges are as yet scarcely worthy of the name, not possessing equal literary advantages with some academies and grammar schools. They are also very unequally distributed. The following may be taken as a specimen.

| | <i>Pop.</i> | <i>Sq. miles.</i> | <i>Colleges.</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Maine, . . | 399,460 | 32,000 | 2 |
| Ohio, . . | 937,679 | 39,000 | 10 |

Taking into view population, area, and the comparative wants of the inhabitants, Maine ought to have four or five colleges. But the existing necessities of the State are amply supplied by the two already in operation. Ohio has a greater number than can be adequately sustained. There are 29 theological seminaries in this country, embracing 82 instructors, and 1200 students; 85,000 volumes of books are in the libraries. Of the 108 colleges and theological seminaries, 71 are connected with the Presbyterian and Congregational denomination, 8 with the Baptist, 14 with the Roman Catholics, 9 with the Episcopalians, 6 with the Methodist. The 23 medical institutions have 128 professors, and 2,387 students. There are from 2,000 to 3,000 young men studying law, either in public schools, or with private counsellors. The whole number of colleges and professional institutions in the United States may be estimated at *one hundred and forty*, embracing *nine thousand three hundred students*.

We have had the curiosity to collect the receipts of the principal charitable societies in the United States for the year 1834. They stand thus :

| | | |
|---|-----------|----|
| Am. Board of Comm. for Foreign Missions, . | \$155,002 | 24 |
| American Baptist Board do. | 63,000 | 00 |
| Pittsburgh Foreign Missionary Society, | 16,296 | 46 |
| Methodist Missionary Society, | 35,700 | 15 |
| Protestant Epis. Foreign and Domestic Miss. Soc. | 26,007 | 97 |
| American Home Missionary Society, | 78,911 | 24 |
| Board Miss. Pres. General Assembly, <i>estimate</i> , | 20,000 | 00 |
| Board Miss. Reformed Dutch church, | 5,572 | 94 |
| American Education Society, | 57,122 | 20 |
| Board of Education Presbyterian Gen. Assembly, | 38,000 | 00 |
| Northern Baptist Education Society, | 4,681 | 11 |
| Board of Education, Reformed Dutch church, | 1,270 | 20 |
| American Bible Society | 88,600 | 82 |
| American Sunday School Union, | 136,855 | 58 |
| Protestant Episcopal do. | 6,641 | 00 |
| Baptist General Tract Society, | 6,126 | 97 |
| American Tract Society, | 66,485 | 83 |
| American Colonization Society, | 35,500 | 00 |
| Prison Discipline Society, | 2,364 | 80 |
| American Seamen's Friend Society, | 16,064 | 00 |
| American Temperance Society, | 5,871 | 12 |
| Total, | \$866,074 | 63 |

The whole amount reported as contributed in the Presbyterian church, (a great part of which is included in the preceding estimate) for foreign and domestic missions, for theological seminaries

and the education of men for the ministry, amounted to \$194,446, 77. The number of communicants in that church is 247,964. The amount of voluntary contributions for colleges and other literary institutions, during the year 1834, may be safely estimated at \$400,000; and an equal amount may be reckoned for hospitals, asylums, infirmaries, and other institutions for the temporal relief of men; making nearly seventeen hundred thousand dollars, contributed mostly in small sums, in the United States, in one year, for philanthropic purposes.

INDIANS.

THE committee on Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives of the United States, in the session of Congress of 1833—4, brought in two bills respecting the removal of the Indians, etc., which were passed into laws, and which were the basis of the measures referred to in a preceding article of this number of our work. The same committee, of which Mr. Horace Everett was chairman, during the session of 1834—5, just terminated, introduced a third bill, for the complete organization of the Indian Territory, by the appointment of a governor, the establishment of a general council of the Indians, the provision for a delegate to congress, etc. On account of the shortness of the session, the bill was not urged through the house, though there were indications of a decided majority in its favor. It was warmly opposed, particularly by Mr. Adams of Massachusetts, and Mr. Archer of Virginia, on the ground of its unconstitutionality, that we had no right to legislate for the Indians, the inexpediency *as a precedent* of admitting an Indian delegate to congress, etc. But we do not ourselves see how the government of the United States can now retreat. Large bodies of Indians have been removed and are now in the process of removal. Hostile tribes will be established in the neighborhood of each other. The Mexican Indians will be on the alert to make incursions. Little reliance can be placed on the laws of Missouri and Arkansas. White traders will overrun the country, and there will be no adequate defence against all these evils, unless the national government shall interpose its arm. Doubtless, so far as laws are passed and measures are taken respecting the Indians on our part, *their* good, on the most disinterested and comprehensive grounds, should be the principal motive. The utmost magnanimity must mark our proceedings.

WEST INDIES.

WE continue to hear favorable accounts from the British West Indies. In respect to Antigua, and in some of the other islands,

where slavery was at once abolished, without the apprenticeship-provision, it ought to be remembered that much previous preparation had been made for the abolition of slavery, by the interdiction of inter-colonial traffic, Sunday markets, etc. In Jamaica, where the apprenticeship-provision has been adopted, no such preliminary means had been employed. At the same time, it is indicative of any thing but wisdom to indulge in confident predictions in regard to the final results of the new order of things at any of the islands.

GREAT BRITAIN.

AN elementary course of Lectures on the Criticism, Interpretation, and leading Doctrines of the Bible, by the Rev. W. D. Conybeare, M. A., has just appeared in London. Mr. C. has long been known as an able writer in geology and other branches of natural history. The second lecture in the present volume is on the grammatical principles of the Hebrew and other oriental tongues. His main design is to show, by the application of the mathematical doctrine of probabilities, to what extent the coincidences detected in the comparison of languages can be fairly attributed to casual resemblances, and at what point, they become satisfactory evidence of original connection. In illustration of this position, he goes into a very ingenious and protracted examination of various languages.

John Mac Culloch has just published the first part of a work on the Resources and Statistics of nations, in 80 pages. He mentions that the statistics of Russia are less known than those of any European nation. Those of Holland are carefully and systematically preserved, but are difficult of access. Those of Prussia are admirably investigated and exhibited. Those of the other German States are less known. The papal countries of the south of Europe are nearly in total darkness. The resources of the United States are as accurately described as those of the most enlightened European nations.

A female university at Edinburgh has been commenced, with such favorable auspices that another similar institution is projected. Lectures on the sciences are given by Messrs. Lees, D. B. Reid, and McGillivray. The enterprise is commenced with the idea that female education ought not to be confined to accomplishments.

There is an increasing attention paid to the study of the German language in Great Britain. German professorships have been established in the London university and in King's college. The London Journal of Education lately contained a review of four German grammars. Articles occasionally appear in the London Quar-

terly Review, written with great ability, and which show a discriminating acquaintance with the philology of Germany. A series of biblical treatises is now publishing in Edinburgh, which consist mostly of translations from Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Olshausen, Planck and other German writers. Mr. Talboys, a very intelligent bookseller of Oxford, has translated and published the historical works of Heeren. Still the number of good translations of German works in England is extremely small. We never attempted to read a more uncouth version of any author, than that attempted of Hug's Introduction to the N. Test. by Dr. D. G. Wait. The translation of some of the works of Neander by Mr. Rose, shows a very limited acquaintance with the German modes of thought and expression. Yet the last number of the British Critic and Theological Review pronounces Mr. Rose's translations masterly, and hardly inferior to Coleridge's Wallenstein! How a man could venture such assertions, who professes to be acquainted with the difficulties of the language, as the reviewer does, we cannot well see. Sarah Austin, the translator of the Characteristics of Goethe, seems to have a better understanding of the German mind, than most of the scholars of her country. The truth is, that in England, as well as in the United States, there is a reaching after the *practical*, the immediately useful, which is inconsistent with the acquisition of a profound knowledge of such authors as Neander, Schleiermacher, and many others of like, if not of equal mental power. The extraordinary popularity of practical religious works in England, is, in one view, a highly encouraging fact; in another aspect, it is to be deplored, as indicating a disrelish for Barrow, Cudworth, Howe, and others, who were of old men of renown. The publication of complete and splendid editions of the works of these authors by no means proves that they are generally read, as there is a strong passion among many of the nobility and gentry of England to accumulate extensive libraries. The translator of Tholuck's Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, remarks in his preface that the want of works of this description, and the general neglect of exegetical studies are felt and acknowledged by all discerning friends of the church of Scotland at home, and form its chief reproach abroad. "Systematic theology, with which the minds of our young divines are exclusively imbued, is doubtless a useful, an indispensable subject of study. It is the scientific form which the results of exegetical theology assume, and upon that it has afterwards a reflex operation, for a knowledge of it becomes the best guide in future researches into the department from which its own materials were drawn. But surely it should need few arguments to demonstrate, that no acquaintance, however familiar and extensive, with the doctrines of Christianity, in those artificial systems according to which men have classified and arranged them, can ever relieve the professional student from the necessity of study-

ing them in that particular garb and connection in which God has been pleased to present them to mankind." Among the proposed volumes of the Biblical Cabinet are translations from the works of Flatt, Olshausen, Nösselt, Knapp, Storr, Koppe, Pareau, Usteri, Billoth, Steiger, Gebser, Döpke and Bähr.

A new edition of the works of president Edwards appeared last year in London, in two large royal octavo volumes. It seems to be an exact reprint of his writings and life, by the Rev. S. E. Dwight, together with an introductory essay on the genius and writings of Edwards by Henry Rogers. It is stated in the *Eclectic Review* to be altogether the best edition which has appeared. Mr. Rogers commences his essay with an analysis of Edwards's mind. "The character of his mind was essentially logical; the dominant attribute was REASON. He possessed, probably, in a greater degree than was ever before vouchsafed to man, the ratiocinative faculty; and, in this respect, at least, he well deserves the emphatic admiration, which Robert Hall expressed when he somewhat extravagantly said, that 'Edwards was the greatest of the sons of men.' Not only was this faculty, as we imagine, originally bestowed in immeasurably greater perfection than any other, and formed the characteristic feature of his intellectual organization, but it was cultivated and disciplined with an assiduity, an incessant, indefatigable diligence, which again doubled the disparity between this and his other powers. His other faculties, inferior though they were by comparison, never reached any thing like the expansion of which they were originally susceptible; they had no room to grow; they were withered and stunted beneath the gigantic shadow of that intellect which shooting its roots, and spreading its branches in every direction, filled the whole cavity of the soul, and absorbed to itself every particle of nutriment which the soil could supply."

"When we say that Jonathan Edwards was preeminently distinguished by his logical powers, we use these words in the strictest sense, as implying a mind peculiarly adapted for deductive reasoning; a mind whose delight it is to draw inferences from known or supposed premises; in other words, which has for its objects the relations between different propositions. The logical process, properly so called, has nothing to do with either the truth or the falsity of the premises, but merely with the connection between the premises and the conclusion."

It is well known that the author of the *natural History of Enthusiasm*, in his essay introductory to the *Freedom of the Will*, thought he had discovered some defects in Edwards's argumentation. To his strictures, Mr. Rogers elaborately replies: "The only attempt which so far as we can find, he makes to illustrate and to substantiate his formidable charges, is in his fourth 'section,' in which he considers the question of necessity, as one 'of the physiology

of man,' and in a note or two appended to that part of his performance. We do not hesitate to say, that if the charge there adduced be a fair specimen of those other instances of defective logic, which he has concealed with such cautious mystery, the 'Inquiry' may still be regarded as the same irrefragable piece of reasoning which the world has always considered it. In our opinion, his attempt is a signal failure. For what is his objection to Edwards, in the passages to which we refer? Why, that he has not entered sufficiently into the physiological conditions of volitions in different classes of voluntary agents, from the lowest animals, to the highest orders of created intelligence; or in the same voluntary agents, at different periods of their existence and possessed of varying measures of knowledge and experience. With all this, the question of the moral necessity of *all* volitions had nothing whatever to do. Edwards's object was to consider volitions in *that* point in which they *all* resembled one another,—namely, as originating in *motives* of some kind or other; no matter how those motives may vary in number or complexity, in different orders of voluntary agents, or in the same agents at different periods. His design did not require that he should consider the *number* of causes, which in particular cases control volition, but whether volition is not always *caused*."

The British association for the advancement of science has held four meetings. The number of members at its first meeting in York in 1831, was 350; at Oxford in 1832, 700; at Cambridge in 1833, 1,400; at Edinburgh in 1834, 2,200. At the last meeting, philosophers of high rank were present from Paris, Baden, Berlin, Weimar, Geneva, Rome, the United States, etc. Professor Forbes, in his programme, said, that the association was not to be confounded with those numerous institutions which exist simply for the *diffusion* of knowledge; *extension* or *accumulation* is its object; it is laboring to give an impulse to every part of the scientific system, maturing scientific enterprise, and directing the labors requisite for discovery.—Hourly observations of the thermometer, in the south of England, have been commenced. A series of the best observations, conducted for ascertaining the law, which regulates the fall of rain, at different heights, has been undertaken.—A regular system of auroral observation, extending from the Shetland Isles to the Land's-end, has been established under the superintendence of a special committee, and specimens of the result have been published.—Observations on the supposed influence of the aurora on the magnetic needle, have likewise been pursued in consequence of this proceeding. At the request of the association, £500 have been advanced, by the lords of the treasury, towards the Greenwich observations.—Observations on the tides have been undertaken by order of the lords of the admiralty, at above 500 stations on the coast of Britain. "The

published proceedings of the association have found their way into every quarter, and are tending to produce corresponding efforts in distant lands.—Our reports on science have produced some very interesting counterparts in the literary town of Geneva. America has taken the lead in several departments of experiment recommended by the association; and the instructions for conducting uniform systems of observation have been reprinted and circulated in the new world. We must likewise consider it as an especial proof of the influence and importance of the association, that a report on the progress of American geology has been undertaken and executed by professor Rogers of Philadelphia.”

Some of the recent works announced in England are : *Spiritual Despotism*, by the author of *Natural History of Enthusiasm* ; *Sacred History of the World*, philosophically considered, in a series of letters to a son, Vol. II. by Sharon Turner ; *Horae Hebraicae*, an attempt to discover how the argument of the epistle to the Hebrews must have been understood by those therein addressed, with an appendix on Messiah’s kingdom, by George Viscount Mandeville ; *Causes of the Corruptions of Christianity*, by the Rev. R. Vaughan, professor of history in the London University ; a *Sermon on the temper to be cultivated among different denominations of Christians*, by the Rev. Dr. J. P. Smith ; also, by the same author, a letter to Prof. Samuel Lee of Cambridge, in reply to that gentleman’s letter to the author, entitled “ *Dissent unscriptural and unjust* ;” *Table Talk*, of S. T. Coleridge, in two volumes octavo ; some account of the writings of Clement of Alexandria, by the bishop of Lincoln ; *Life of bishop Jewel*, by Prof. Le Bas ; the *Book of Revelation*, with notes, by Rev. Isaac Ashe ; *Oriental Illustrations of the Scriptures*, from the manners, customs, and superstitions of the Hindoos, by the Rev. Joseph Roberts, a missionary to Ceylon ; and a *Life of Sir Matthew Hale*, by J. B. Williams, LL.D.

DENMARK.

THE Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen, held their anniversary on the 30th of June, 1834. Schlegel, the chairman, read a statement of the proceedings of the Association, since June 1831. They have published 10 new volumes of Icelandic or Northern MSS., being 33 volumes in all. They have commenced the publication of the historical monuments of Greenland, with all the ancient writings on physical geography, entire sagas, annals, etc. They are about to publish a complete edition of all the extant accounts concerning the discovery of America by the ancient Scandinavians, with the original Icelandic text, and a Latin translation. The printing of the work has already commenced. A voyage of discovery to the east coast of Greenland has

lately been made by captain Graah, to determine the site of the ancient colony of East Bygd. Some Esquimaux antiquities have been communicated to the association. By a recent census, it appears that the population of Denmark amounts to 2,000,000. There are two universities, Copenhagen, with 800 students, and Kiel with 300; 27 grammar schools with 1,400 pupils; 4,600 elementary schools, (3,000 on the principle of mutual instruction), with 278,000 pupils; and two asylums for the deaf and dumb.

GERMANY.

C. O. Müller has lately published an edition of the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, which has proved the occasion of a warm controversy between the editor and the celebrated Hermann of Leipsic, and Fritsche a former pupil of Hermann. The doctrines of the Leipsic scholar are, 1st. that verbal criticism is determinable by, and dependent on the mind of the individual critic, and consequently, cannot be an art; 2nd, that grammatical considerations alone are to determine the necessity for an emendation and the eligibility of an emendation proposed, and, therefore, that a comprehension of the connection of thought in a whole work, and a knowledge of the subjects treated of in the work, which may be derived from other works, are not necessary for that purpose. On the contrary, Schleiermacher in his edition of Plato, Böckh in Pindar, Welcker, Ahrens, and Müller in Aristophanes and Aeschylus, have maintained that a comprehensive acquaintance with a work as a whole, with its spirit, and with the logical connection of its parts is an essential qualification in him, who would successfully edit the classic authors.—The king of Prussia has appropriated \$20,000 a year for six years, for the purpose of improving the interior arrangement of the university building at Berlin.—The Canstein press at Halle, has 10 common presses, 2 steam-presses, 30 or 40 workmen, and 24 bookbinders. There have been issued from this press 120,714 copies of the New Testament, and 2,754,350 of the Bible.—Silesia, with a population of 2,459,789, has one university at Breslau, 21 gymnasias, 5 schools for teachers, and 5,400 minor schools.—The journal of the first Prussian voyage round the world by Capt. Wendt of the *Louise*, has been announced in Berlin, in two volumes, quarto.—Dr. Jungmann has published his Bohemian dictionary, upon which he has been employed thirty years.—Professorships of the English language are established at many of the literary institutions of Germany. Mr. Carlisle, secretary of the English Society of Antiquaries, is endeavoring to obtain sufficient patronage, to establish an English professorship at Upsala in Sweden, and another at Vienna. The languages spoken by the Swedes, Norwegians, and Fins are strikingly analogous to the English.

RUSSIA.

A Russian Conversations lexicon is preparing on a very extensive plan. It is in part a translation from the German, combining in addition full accounts respecting Russia. Sixty persons are employed in editing and preparing the work. They have divided themselves into twenty sections.

ASIA MINOR.

The Rev. F. V. J. Arundell, British chaplain at Smyrna, with Mr. Bethier, agent of the Belgian government, visited in 1833, some of the districts of Asia Minor. The principal discovery of the travellers was the site of the ancient Antioch in Pisidia. On their arrival at Yalabatz, the immense quantity of squared blocks of stone and sculptured fragments, which they saw, would of themselves have convinced the travellers, that they were on the site of some renowned city, independently of the aqueduct which they discovered. On the north of Yalabatz, they gained an elevated plateau accurately described by Strabo, under the name of *λόφος*. They found the superb ruins of a temple of Bacchus. Passing on, they discovered a long and immense building, constructed with prodigious stones, and standing east and west, which they concluded to have been a church. Nothing remained but the ground-plan, and the circular end for the *bema*. It was 160 feet long and 80 wide. The remains of an aqueduct were of the most splendid description, twenty-one arches being in a state of entire preservation. In the valley on the left are groves of poplars and weeping-willows. No Christian resides in Antioch except a single Greek in the khan. Where the synagogue once stood, all is now obliterated. The remains of a theatre lie on the east of the church in a little ascent. Various other splendid ruins met the eyes of the travellers. It was their intention to have searched for Lystra and Derbe, but the advanced season of the year, and the proximity of the army of Ibrahim Pacha, induced them to return to Smyrna.

An enterprising Frenchman, by the name of Charles Texier, has lately returned from a very successful tour in Asia Minor. He was employed by the minister of the interior and of public instruction, at the request of the academy of inscriptions and of fine arts. He left Constantinople in May, 1834, and passed through Nicea, Nicomedia, and Broosa, drawing geological and other maps of the country. He found at Axani, a large Grecian temple, with wings of white marble, and a marble theatre of the Doric order. He discovered in Galatia, the site of Pessinus, famed for the worship of Cybele; also Galagtik, a Gallo-Greek town, full of curious inscriptions. He went thence to Amasia, (Amisus) where Strabo was

born, and to Neo-Caesarea, the capital of Cappadocia. On the frontiers of Galatia, he discovered a town of great importance, 3,000 roods of ground being covered with Cyclopean remains in a state of fine preservation. His journal, which is soon to be published, will be read with much interest. During the year 1834, the Rev. Richard Burgess, an Englishman, also visited the same regions.

A R A B I A.

In May, 1834, Mr. Isenberg of the Church Missionary Society, made an excursion to Mt. Sinai. From a careful examination of the ground, he thinks that the Israelites must have passed the Red Sea near the town of Suez, where the sea is about half an English mile wide. Nothing of particular interest occurred during the journey, or at the convent on the mountain. About the same time, two English gentlemen, major Felix and lord Prudhoe, visited the mountain. The chief facts which they mention are the rapid growth of coral in the Red Sea, the height at which marine shells are found along the shores of the Arabian gulf, the close resemblance of many of the customs of the wild tribes of the Bedouins to the narratives of the Old Testament, and the increasing safety of travelling in the peninsula.

E G Y P T.

Seven years ago, the pacha established a medical institution at Abusabel near Cairo, where young Arabs are instructed in medicine for the benefits of the pacha's army. There are several European lecturers and professors. Dr. Fisher, an able German physician, lectures on physiology, pathology, anatomy, etc. His pupils, 100 in number, make good progress. A hospital connected with the institution, has accommodations for 3,000 patients.

C H I N A.

The Anglo-Chinese Kalendar, under the charge of a son of the late Dr. Morrison, has been published for five successive years. An historical sketch of the Roman Catholic church of Macao, and of the domestic and foreign relations of Macao, in fifty-three pages, was published at Canton last summer. John Francis Davis, F. R. S., who has taken the place of the late Lord Napier as superintendent of the British interest at Canton, has published an essay on the poetry of the Chinese, with translations and detached pieces. The European printing presses in China are the following: the honorable Company's press at Macao, chiefly employed with Mr. Medhurst's dictionary of the Fühkeén dialect. The Albion press, interdicted by the Portuguese authority in Macao, has been removed

to Canton, and is employed on a commercial guide. The oldest press in Canton, which has sent forth six volumes of the *Register*, has united itself with that of the late *Courier*. The latter paper was discontinued in 1833, and the *Register*, from the beginning of 1834, has appeared every week, instead of semi-monthly, as formerly. Another press, connected with the American mission, is employed in printing the *Chinese Repository*. There are also two lithographic presses at Canton. Connected with the college of St. Joseph at Macao, there is a Portuguese press, which is furnished with a font of Chinese moveable types.

Among the dialects of the Chinese, there is not the same difference as there is among the languages of Hindoostan. In some instances, they differ very much from the common language of the empire; but often the difference is very slight. In many instances, the chief peculiarities of a dialect are found to consist in the pronunciation. In the northern provinces, the pure Chinese, commonly called the Mandarin dialect, prevails extensively. In districts bordering on Tartary, a modification of the language occasioned by the domination of the Mantchous is apparent. In Chêk-ëäng and Keängnan the difference between the pure Chinese, (which is there spoken by a very considerable part of the people,) and the local districts is very striking. To an individual who was acquainted with only the standard language, the dialect of Füh-keën, as it is usually spoken, would be utterly unintelligible. In the south-western provinces there is less deviation from the pure Chinese. The dialect, which prevails in Canton, bears considerable resemblance to that which prevails in the public courts. In Cochin China, Corea, Japan, etc., where the Chinese language is used, the local dialects differ from the standard even more than in Fühkeën.

The *Chinese Repository* says, "There is not, so far as we know, more than one individual in the United States, who even pretends to have any considerable knowledge of the Chinese language, or has ever undertaken the study of it. A few Chinese volumes may have found their way thither, and lexicographers and philologists have doubtless obtained the principal grammars and dictionaries which have been put forth by European scholars."

OCEANIC REGIONS.

In the last No. of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, there is a notice of several works, which have lately appeared on the inhabitants, and languages of Borneo, Java, New Holland, Sumatra, etc. Since the appearance of this article, the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, D. D. a Scottish clergyman of New Holland, now on a visit to England, has published a *View of the Origin and Migrations of the Po-*

lynesian nation. Dr. Lang's theory is, that the South Sea Islanders are of an Asiatic origin, and that the Indo-Americans are sprung from the South Sea Islanders. The points of analogy between the Islanders and the inhabitants of Asia are the distinction of caste, the singular institution of taboo, rite of circumcision, the general appearance and configuration of the idols, etc. In their physical conformation and general character, the natives of the islands strongly resemble the Malays. The identity of the languages spoken in the different groups of the South Sea Islands was observed by Capt. Cook and his fellow voyagers; and the remarkable resemblance between these and those of the Indian Archipelago was also noticed. There is one remarkable peculiarity in the habits of thought among the Indo-Chinese nations, which is also observed among the Malayan and Polynesian tribes, but which, says Dr. Lang, is altogether unknown among the nations, Asiatic or European—to the westward of the Ganges. That remarkable peculiarity consists in their having a language of ceremony or deference distinct from the language of common life. According to the quarterly reviewer, the first point, where we discover evidence of an oceanic language is among the people of Champa, on the shores of the China Sea and of the gulf of Siam. The next traces are found in the island of Formosa, 50 miles from the coast of China. From the Philippines, in all probability, oceanic dialects were communicated to the Pelew and Caroline Islands. The Bugis of Celebes, to the present day, hold a commercial intercourse with the Aru Islands, and the Negritos of New Guinea. Fortune and accident might conduct them to the latitude of westerly winds, which, in due time, would bring them down upon New Zealand, where they (the Bugis) would first discover men of the same race with themselves. The praos of New Zealand might be drifted down by westerly winds as far as Easter Island, and from Easter Island, the trade-winds would drift them, or the inhabitants of the island, upon the Marquesas and the Society Islands; from whence again a voyage seems practicable, even with praos and with the trade winds, to the Sandwich Islands. The great similarity, which exists between the numerals of all these islands, makes this hypothesis, in the opinion of the reviewer, not improbable. A grand objection against referring the South Sea Islanders to an Asiatic origin is derived from the supposed uniform prevalence of the north-east and south-east trade-winds within the tropics. "But the testimony of the eminent navigator, La Perouse, is decisive as to the invalidity of such an objection. Westerly winds, says he, are *at least as frequent*, as those from the eastward, in the vicinity of the equator, in a zone of seven or eight degrees north and south; and the winds in the equatorial regions are so variable, that it is very little more difficult to make a voyage to the eastward than to the westward." Dr. Lang quotes the testimo-

ny of other high authorities on the subject of the trade-winds. After detailing, at considerable length, the general grounds of his hypothesis, the author comes to particular tests. The first mentioned is, that the species of civilization which prevailed in Mexico and Peru, on the discovery of the continent of America, was essentially Polynesian in its aspect. The second test is a comparison between the Polynesians and the uncivilized aborigines of America, in regard to their manners and customs. A third particular given in proof of the identity of the Polynesian and the Indo-American divisions of the human family is their language. The author then proceeds to consider the supposition that the South Sea Islanders were derived from the continent of America, which, he says, is inadmissible, for two reasons. 1. It implies that the inhabitants of the west coast of America have been a maritime people; which, it is well known, they have never been, and which from the nature of the country they inhabit precludes them from being. 2. It implies that the inhabitants of the west coast of America must not only have been a maritime people, but must have been in the habit of making voyages of discovery and adventure into the Pacific ocean; a supposition utterly preposterous, for though a canoe belonging to Easter Island, might in a western gale, be driven to the American continent, yet a thousand canoes, might have sailed from any point on the west coast of America, on a voyage of discovery, without ever reaching Easter Island.

NOTE.—Our next No. will contain the conclusion of the translation of Tholuck's commentary on the Lord's Prayer. A few errors in the printing of the first part escaped our notice, owing in part to the impracticability of sending the proofs to the translator, and in part to the fact that the manuscript, owing to an inadvertence, did not reach us till a very late day. The most material errors are the following:

Page 218, middle, the sentence beginning "That which the prophets" ends with "the kingdom of Christ."

" 222, for *APTONEMORSIAN*, read *APTONEIHORSIAN*.

" 225, for Balth, Stalburg, read Balth. Stalburg.

" 229, line 7th from top, for *χρησιμεύουντα*, read *χρησιμευόντα*.

" 229, line 8th from bottom, for *םחך* read *םחך*.

" 237, 4th line from bottom, for *םחך* read *םחך*.

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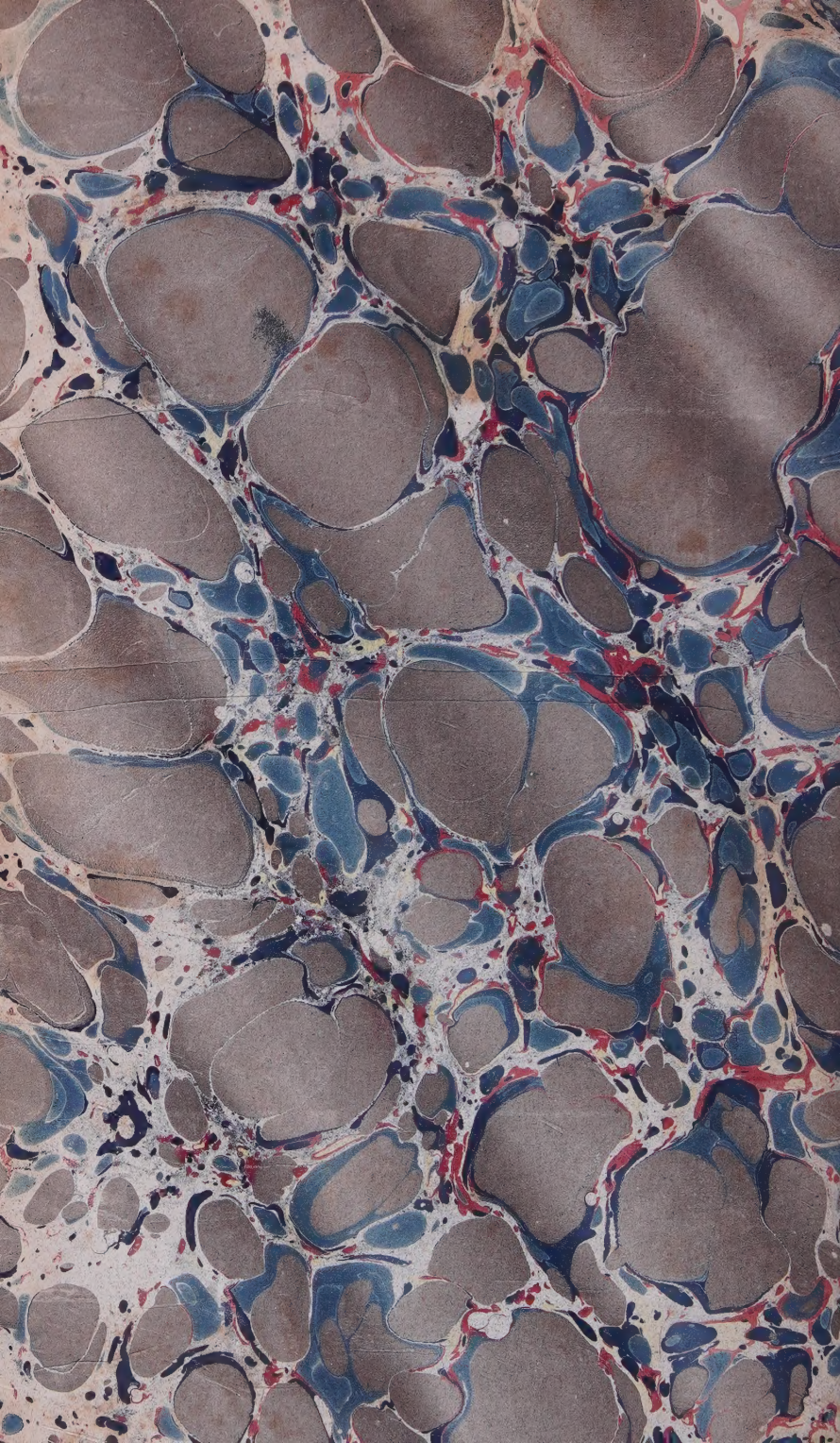
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